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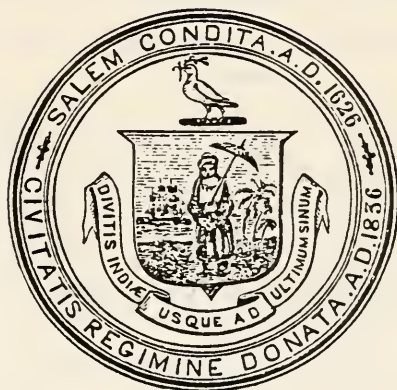
*J. Endicott.*

*Current likeness from the copy of an original in the Endicott family.*

# ANNALS OF SALEM.

BY

JOSEPH B. FELT.



*Omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo.—Cicero de Senectute.*

*Hanc meritam esse, ut memor esses sui.—Terentii Andria.*

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TO

THE CITIZENS OF SALEM.

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AMONG the endowments of our nature, are the affections and sympathies, which have a large share of their purest and happiest exercises in relation to the home of our birth or adoption. This is a wise provision of divine economy. It is well for the benefit of families, that every man should cherish a special regard for his own household. So it is well, that all should entertain a particular attachment to the place, where their domestic ties exist and their civil rights are secured. The operation of this principle is mostly experienced by those who are called to distant sections of their own or other countries. Seldom can any person so sunder the common bonds of humanity, as to feel alike in every clime. Justly has a departed genius doubted whether a man could be found,

“Whose heart hath ne’er within him burned,  
As home his footsteps he hath turned,  
From wandering on a foreign strand.”

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The author would acknowledge his particular obligation to the following gentlemen for assistance in the materials of this work.

Benjamin F. Browne, John Chapman, Joseph Cloutman, Thomas Cole, Caleb Foote, John Howard, sen., Henry K. Oliver, Charles W. Palfray, Robert Peele, George D. Phippen, Perley Putnam, John Stone and Henry Wheatland of Salem; Abiel Chandler, Jonathan P. Dabney, William B. Fowle and David Pulsifer of Boston; William Gibbs of Lexington, and George A. Ward of New York. The three last persons favored the author with the use of manuscripts. He would, also, mention his indebtedness to the publication of the late Rev. William Bentley, D. D., for aid in describing the face of Salem territory. A few others, who have kindly afforded him help, are designated under their communications.

The facts in this volume extend no further than 1843, except in some instances, which are accordingly stated.

The New Style, as to years before 1752, is used in this work.

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## ANNALS OF SALEM.

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No faculty of mind has been divinely given us without some appropriate and beneficial end. Our reflection may be as fitly applied to look upon ages elapsed, as our observation on those passing, or our prospection on those to come. By the aid of reflection, we are privileged to call back the by-gone scenes of our native or adopted habitations, and derive from them lessons of experience to satisfy rational curiosity, supply materials for useful conversation, correct error and vice, confirm truth and virtue. Thus employed in the work before us,—it will not be adjudged as a perverted talent, but as improved in its proper sphere.

### NAME.

A word, as significant of mental associations, is often the source of recollections, feelings and actions, which exhibit character in its most decisive aspect. Such undoubtedly was the effect produced by the term Naumkeag, when heard by the aborigines, who once owned and occupied the territory which encircled this city and its adjacent towns. When abroad, enduring the hardships of the chase or amid the perils of war, it was to them the talisman of their home; around



which their strongest affections were entwined, in which centered their highest earthly hopes and their dearest enjoyments, and for which they were ready to endure the utmost privation and suffering.

On the map<sup>1</sup> of Massachusetts and part of Maine, as described by Captain John Smith, in 1614, and as having its different portions subsequently named by Prince Charles, the location of Salem was called Bastable. It is not unlikely that the abundance of Bass, formerly in our waters, was the origin of such a name. But an alteration of this kind had little influence on the natives of our soil, to surrender their own Naumkeag. Not until after the arrival of Mr. Higginson, is any attempt known to have been made by the Council, on the premises, to have the word substituted by another. He mentions, in his communication to friends at home, that, before the date of his writing, which was July 24, 1629, such a change had taken place, and that the settlement was then called Salem. While thus speaking of what became the permanent appellation of our city, he observes: "Here is plenty of marble stone in such store, that we have great rocks of it, and a harbour hard by. Our plantation is from thence called Marble harbour." It appears from this, that a term, afterwards applied exclusively to Marblehead, was used to designate not only the latter place, but also the whole town of Salem, to which it then belonged.

The Planters' Plea,<sup>2</sup> in adducing proofs that the Indians here had anciently some knowledge of the

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Pathway, etc., Mass. Hist. Coll., s. 3, v. 3, pp. 20, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in London, 1630, and supposed to have been written by Rev. John White, p. 14.

Jews, makes the ensuing remark: "It fals out, that the name of the place, which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, prooves to bee perfect Hebrew, being called Nahum Keike; by interpretation, the bosom of consolation; which it were pittty that those, which observed it not, should change into the name of Salem, though upon a faire ground, in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a generall meeting betweene them and their neighbors, after expectance of some dangerous jarre." In this paragraph, there appears more of fancy than fact, as to the Indian name. It is very probable, from the custom of our early historians, that if ten persons had undertaken to spell such a word, without any consultation with each other, and as pronounced by the natives, they would all have varied some, and that not one of them would have made the exact number of letters, and those of the same kind, contained in Nahum Keike.

On the same subject, Hubbard<sup>1</sup> remarks: "In this place, soon after by a minister, that came with a company of honest planters, called Salem, from that in Psalms, lxxvi. 2, was laid the first foundation, on which the next colonies were built." The minister here referred to, was, most likely, Rev. Francis Higginson.

Cotton Mather<sup>2</sup> writes: "Of which place I have some where met with an odd observation, that the name of it is rather Hebrew than Indian; for Nahum signifies comfort, and Keik signifies an haven; and our English not only found it an haven of comfort,

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's New England, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Mather's Magnalia, edition of 1820, v. 1, p. 63.

but happened also to put an Hebrew name upon it ; for they called it Salem, for the peace, which they had and hoped in it."

To the few aborigines whom the plague had spared, such an alteration could be of no material consequence. Still it was fraught with the depressing knowledge, that the dominion of their soil had passed from them and fallen to the hands of strangers.

#### SITUATION AND EXTENT.

As a Sagamoreship, Naumkeag had limits nearly like the following : Its northwardly line was Salem to Andover ; and its southwardly, Medford to Massachusetts Bay. As occupied and denominated by our ancestors, it originally comprehended Marblehead, Beverly, Manchester, Wenham, Danvers, part of Topsfield and of Middleton. For information of the stranger, its present boundaries are given ; northwardly by Beverly and Danvers, southwardly and westwardly by Lynn and Lynnfield, and eastwardly by Marblehead and the aforesaid Bay. Its territory, including Islands, contains<sup>1</sup> 5,429 acres. As calculated at the Marine Hall, its latitude is  $42^{\circ} 31' 18'' \frac{11}{100}$  N ; longitude,  $70^{\circ} 53' 53'' \frac{13}{100}$  W.

#### INCORPORATION.

With regard to the incorporation of places in the curly years of the Colony, there was no settled rule, no such formal enactments, as have existed for over a century and a half. Respecting some towns, there is much obscurity as to the time and mode of their be-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Dr. Bentley.



ing so constituted. Of this class is our own city. In looking over the circumstances connected with the date at which its incorporation has been generally set, the writer is of opinion that chronologists, since 1700, intended to reckon it so as to keep in remembrance the arrival of Rev. Francis Higginson, and those with him. If so, they seem to have drawn their authority from Mather's *Magnalia*, which puts it on the 24th of June. But this was a mistake, probably made, like others, by the publishers in England. The truth, however, is, that Mr. Higginson's journal records it as the 29th. Hence, in this view, the incorporation of Salem should stand the 29th, and not 24th of June, 1629.

In another aspect, it is more likely that if the original settlers here had chosen one of two dates for calculating such a privilege—namely, either at the said arrival, or change of the Plantation's name, they would have preferred the latter. A reason for this conjecture is, that the Colony records, when describing certain towns as having their Indian names exchanged for English ones, seem to regard the commencement of their corporate capacity as more at such periods, than at any others of their mentioning them. It is, also, observable, that a large portion of the ancient towns have, by a later consent, their age of incorporation beginning when this alteration was made. Had the manuscript proceedings of the administration here, under Governor Endicott, come down to us, light would dawn upon our search. But they are gone, and it is feared irrecoverably so. Still, Hubbard was a neighbor and cotemporary of Conant,

and other founders of this community, and he wrote not unadvisedly on matters of this kind. He informs us, that Naumkeag was altered to Salem, by a clergyman<sup>1</sup> soon after his coming hither, and circumstances denote that this divine was Mr. Higginson, more than another. These considerations, with the fact that such a change was prior to July 24, lead us to conclude that it was in the early part of the same month. Thus examined, the incorporation of Salem would come in July instead of June. Still, as it has been so long placed in the latter month, though without any other known authority than the mere fancy of some individuals under the second charter, it had better stand, with the 24 substituted by 29.

There is no intention, in what has been said, to set lightly by the occasion, at the date of which our incorporation has been usually placed. No. It was one full of importance to this infant Commonwealth, and richly deserved any such commemoration.

In the preceding observations, we have one of not a few instances, wherein data have been fancifully assumed, and thence accounted as the basis of indubitable truth. Though, in some cases, the remark, "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise," may hold correctly, yet it does not possess so much force as to deny the propriety of the foregoing explanation.

#### INCORPORATION AS A CITY.

Before closing this section, we are called from its doubt to the certainty of fact. After the continuance

<sup>1</sup> Probably he proposed it to the Council, of which he was a member.

of Salem nearly 210 years, it became incorporated<sup>1</sup> as a City, March 23, 1836. During such a period, it saw various changes, experienced many trials, and enjoyed numerous blessings. Its course of existence, having been planned and commenced on the noblest principles of human action, was kept from the baneful irregularities which have marked the way of all communities, begun and continued in motives of vicious ambition and debased selfishness. Could the judicious Conant and his companions, when making this place, as their retreat from the trials of unsuccessful experiment, have looked down through the prospect of ages and directed their vision to such a change, under all its hopeful circumstances, their hearts would have risen to heaven in the warmest aspirations of gratitude. Could they commune with the thousands dwelling on the foundations of their hands, they would utter the counsel of wisdom—See to it that you cherish the deepest sentiments of dependence on the divine aid, which has preserved your inheritance. “Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.”

## INDIANS.

Before entering on the full narration of events which relate to our city, it may be desirable to look at the natives, who anciently owned its territory. Great interest has long been taken in searching out the aborigines of various parts in the old world. Many of the most inviting chapters in American history bear upon the same subject. This will be increasingly so,

<sup>1</sup> The seal adopted as the result of this act, is impressed on the title page.

as our country advances in age. It is not then a busy, barren idleness, to cull the facts which concern the red men, who formerly planted on the sites of our towns, ranged over our fields, hunted through our forests, gazed from our mountains, and fished in our waters. No. There may be intellectual and moral improvement derived from the relics of a people, once familiar with our own localities, but long since extinct.

Among the principal Indian nations<sup>1</sup> of New England, were the Massachusetts and Pawtuckets. The former held sway over the tribes of Weechagaskas, Neponsitt, Punkapoag, Nonantum, Nashaway and some of Nipmuck. One of their Sagamores, who lived before the plague, had Mount Wollaston<sup>2</sup> "cleared for himself," and it was called "Massachusetts fields." The Pawtucket dominion was northwardly from Boston, and embraced the "Pennakooks, Agawoames, Naamkeeks, Pascataways, Accomintas," and others. Before the desolating sickness,<sup>3</sup> it could raise 3,000 warriors, but after that only a few hundreds. When Captain John Smith visited our coast before its settlement by Europeans, he found that the Penobscots<sup>4</sup> were at war with their neighbors, the Tarrentines; that the former were in alliance with various tribes, among whom were those of "Augawoam and Naumkeek."

While comparing these two places, as they were in 1614, he observes: "Naiemkeek, though it be more

<sup>1</sup>Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll., Higginson, 1617; Wood's N. E., s. 1, v. 1, pp. 147—149. 1619.

<sup>2</sup>Wood's N. E. Prospect, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>Gookin says 1612 and 1613; <sup>4</sup>Smith in Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 3, v. 3, p. 22. Smith's History of Virginia, v. 2, p. 193.

rocky ground, for Augoan is sandy, not much inferior neither for the harbour, nor any thing I could perceive, but the *multitude of people*." It appears from this, that Naumkeag had then less inhabitants than Agawam; but, as the latter had a large population, the former may be calculated, from the phraseology, to have had its hundreds, if not thousands.

Speaking of the allies just named, Captain Smith observes: "All these, for any thing I could perceive, differ little in language or any thing, though most of them be Sagamos and Lords of themselves, yet they hold the Bashabes of Penobscot, the chiefe and greatest among them."

However, in the years of their strength, the Naumkeags may have been greatly sought to unite in a common league against the inroads of a powerful foe, they were so dwindled away by fatal disease, when our fathers entered upon their soil, they could do little for turning the scale of victory and conquest to either side.

Relative to such of them as survived when the Rev. John Higginson came hither, his testimony<sup>1</sup> is of the subsequent tenor: "To y<sup>e</sup> best of my remembrance when I came ouer with my father to this place, being then about thirteen yeares old, there was in these parts a widow woman, called squaw Sachem, who had three sons, Sagamore John, kept at Mistick, Sagamore James, at Saugust, and Sagamore George, here at Naumkeke. Whether he was actual Sachem here, I cannot say, for he was young then about my age, and I think there was an elder man y<sup>t</sup> was at

<sup>1</sup> Essex County Records.

least his guardian. But y<sup>e</sup> Indian towne of Wigwams was on y<sup>e</sup> North side of y<sup>e</sup> North river, not farre from Simondes and y<sup>a</sup> both y<sup>e</sup> North and South side of that river was together called Naumkeke."

The squaw here named was the relict<sup>1</sup> of Nanepasshemet, who was killed about 1619, and left five children; of these were James, Abigail, John, and George. He was probably slain by the Tarrentines. It is most likely, that the Indian town, from its adjacency to the river, bearing the name of his nation, was one of his principal residences. Mourt's Relation states, that the party from Plymouth in 1621, while ranging through some of his territory, met with two of his forts. Wherever these fortifications were located, it is certain that there was one,<sup>2</sup> like them, on Marblehead neck, near Forest River, remaining in 1658, and called an "old Indian fort."

This Sagamore's jurisdiction was more extensive than generally supposed. By the deposition of John Devereux,<sup>3</sup> the three sons who succeeded him claimed "all y<sup>e</sup> lands in these parts, as Salem, Marblehead, Linn, and as far as Mistick."

For a second husband, the squaw Sachem married<sup>4</sup> Wappacowet or Webcowet, a priest. With him she grants land, 1639-40, lying against Mistick pond, and reserved by her from Charlestown and Cambridge, to Jotham Gibbons, son of Edward Gibbons, of Boston, for benefits of the latter towards them. The land so given was to be possessed by the former at her decease.

<sup>1</sup> Lewis' Lynn, p. 16.

in 1630, and, in 1694, was aged 80.

<sup>2</sup> Essex Registry Records.

<sup>4</sup> Drake's Book of Indians, b. II.

<sup>3</sup> Came from England to Salem p. 40-42.



In the deed<sup>1</sup> of this conveyance, she styles herself squaw Sachem of Mistick. In 1644, she with several Sagamores, submits<sup>2</sup> to the government of the Colony, and agrees to have the children of her subjects taught the Bible. If, as has been supposed, she ruled over some of the Nipmuk Indians, she may have been the Squaw, who, as they related,<sup>3</sup> being blind, died in consequence of ill treatment from a party of Narragansetts, who came, as enemies, in 1667, and robbed their fort.

Speaking of the questions asked by his Indian hearers, the apostle Eliot says, in 1647, that Webcowet inquired why the English had not attempted sooner to make sufficient exertions to evangelize the natives?

In reference to the town beyond North River, Mr. Dudley, in his letter<sup>4</sup> of 1631, may have intended it in the following extract: "Neere to Salem dwelleth two or three families, subiect to the Sagamore of Agawam. This Sagamore hath but few subiects and they and himself tributory to Sagamore James, having beene before the last yeare, in James his minority, tributory to Shicka Talbott."<sup>5</sup> If he meant the Northfield town, he did not think it contained so many people, as Mr. Higginson's language, more likely than his to be correct, seems to have signified.

The James just mentioned, was, as before stated, one of the Squaw Sachem's sons, was named Montowompate, and was Sagamore of Lynn and Marblehead. When Mr. Dudley wrote, it appears that James

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Archives, Indian, v. 1, p. 1. Her mark was a bow with an arrow on its string, and his, an oblong figure. <sup>2</sup> General Court Records. <sup>3</sup> Mass. Archives, Indian, v. 1, p. 138. <sup>4</sup> To the Countess of Lincoln.

<sup>5</sup> The sachem of Mass. Indians.

had recently assumed his jurisdiction, and held authority over the Indians of Salem and Ipswich, as tributaries. This chief thus came into possession of part of his father's territory, formerly under the Sagamoreship of Naumkeag. He and most of his people died<sup>1</sup> of the small-pox in 1633.

His elder brother, John or Wonohaquaham, and most of his subjects, died of the like disease, near the same date. Mr. Maverick buried above thirty of them in one day. He is spoken of on Charlestown records, as giving leave for the emigrants from Salem to settle that place, calling him a chief "of gentle and good disposition." He "desired to be brought among the English, and promised, if he recovered, to live with the English; and serve their God. He left one son, which he disposed to Mr. Wilson, the pastor of Boston, to be brought up by him. He gave to the Governor a good quantity of Wampompeague, and to divers others of the English he gave gifts, and took order for the payment of his own debts, and his men's. He died in a persuasion that he should go to the Englishmen's God." His will<sup>2</sup> was, that all the wampum and coats left, should be given to his mother; and his land about Powder Horn hill to his son, and in case of his decease, to his brother George.

Thus was George left as the only survivor of his brethren. It is likely that he was the chief mentioned by Mr. Eliot, in his letter<sup>3</sup> of 1649: "Linn Indians are all naught save one, who sometimes cometh to heare the word, and telleth me that hee prayeth

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop, v. 1, p. 119, 120,      <sup>2</sup> Mass. Archives, Indian, v. 1, mentions this under Dec. 5.      p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Dated Nov. 13, in Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 3, v. 4, p. 88.

to God, and the reason why they are bad is partly and principally, because their sachim is naught, and careth not to pray unto God." If so, he had failed to imitate the commendable example of his mother and eldest brother; that it was thus, seems to be implied by subsequent events. The son of John had died before May 11, 1651, when his uncle George petitioned General Court, that he might possess the land, conditionally left him by his brother. The inhabitants of Chelsea, then Rumney Marsh, argued against his claim; said it would disturb the right to their township, and likewise that to Lynn. By this time, it is evident that George had attained to all the remaining rule of the Indians from Naumkeag river to Mystic river; and thus supplied the place of his father as to territorial limits, but not as to the number of his subjects. Though nothing is left us on record, except the implication of Mr. Higginson's relation, to show that when he came of age, he was acknowledged to be Sagamore of the few Indians about Salem, yet there can be no reasonable doubt but that such was the fact. George's Indian name was Winnapurkitt. He was also called George Rumney Marsh, and No Nose. For a considerable period, little is known of his course. But he still held fast his claim to the fee of all his father's domain. He lived to survive the awful conflict between Philip and New England. He appears to have sided with the foes of our fathers. The testimony<sup>1</sup> of two Christian Indians shows, that he returned from Barbadoes. No probable reason can be assigned why he should have been in that foreign

<sup>1</sup> Essex County Records, in 1686.

port, unless, like a considerable number of Indian captives, he was transported to the West Indies, and sold as a slave, for being engaged in the rebellion. On coming home, he lived and died at the house of his relative, James Rumney Marsh, of Natick, who had been very active and serviceable for the English in their struggle with Philip. His decease occurred 1684, when he was 68 years old. George married <sup>1</sup> Ioane or Ahawayetsquaine, the daughter of Poquanum, or Dark Skin, who lived on Nahant. He left two daughters, <sup>2</sup> Cicely Petaghuncksq and Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, and three grand-children, David Nonnumpanohow and Sam Wuttaanoh, both children of his son Nonnumpannumhow, and John Tontohqunne, the son of Cicely.

These relatives, in 1686, lived at Chelmsford. He had other connections, who resided at Natick and elsewhere. However Sagamore George died from the home of his fathers, yet he never surrendered his claim on their territory, from our North River to Mystick. As one of his dying injunctions, he left all such country to his worthy kinsman, James Rumney Marsh, on condition that he would use exertions to have his fee in it acknowledged and a consideration for it allowed. A leading characteristic of the Naumkeag Sachem, thus called to sleep with his ancestors from the feverish scenes of life, which he had experienced in large proportion, was his indomitable purpose. Had he turned this inclination so as to have had it under Christian influence, his passage to the grave would have been less rough, and more accom-

<sup>1</sup> Lewis's Lynn, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Salem Indian Deed.

panied with the alleviations of usefulness. His expectation that a price would be paid to his relatives for the fee of his Sagamoreship, was not altogether ideal. The very year of his decease, Marblehead satisfied such a demand for their premises. Two years afterwards, Salem did the same.

Thus closed all further presentations of demand for the domain, once populous with the race of the red man. Thus terminated the regal sway of a house, which, if it could speak, or its annals had been written and preserved, would probably reveal many changes of thrilling interest; many deeds of state for the weal or wo of multitudes; many demonstrations of policy, approved or condemned by the decisions of equity. Here is one of the numerous responses of experience to the truth of a master orator, "What shadows we are, what shadows we pursue."

However the kings of Naumkeag ceased to be elected and proclaimed as lords of its soil and subjects, still it continued to be trodden with the feet of wandering natives. Credible tradition relates, that down to 1725, and subsequently, a company of them paid an annual visit to Salem, and encamped on a side of Gallows Hill. It is very likely that some, if not all of them, were descendants of those who once occupied the territory thus frequented. No doubt, from the sympathies of human nature, these pilgrims walked among the sepulchres, stood upon the houseless sites, gazed on the mementoes, mused on the changes, repeated the traditions, and dwelt on the exploits of their departed ancestors. So occupied, the heaving sigh, the falling tear, the expressive countenance, told

the deep workings of their soul, and its mysterious imagery, which portrayed the fancied glory of the past in contrast with the melancholy present and the hopeless future. When returning to the homes of their adoption, though unskilled in the harp, and it hung not on the willow, still the grief of Israel was theirs, and they had little heart to join in the songs of a strange land. With regard to the Indian Town in North Fields, there is evidence that many of its inhabitants were buried in the vicinity of its location, from the quantity of human bones thrown up, as the earth there has been disturbed by the operations of improvement.

In a former account<sup>1</sup> of Salem it is observed: "The natives had forsaken the spot before the English reached it. On the soil they found no natives of whom we have any record. No natives ever claimed it, and the possession was uninterrupted." This passage contains a mistake. It is noticed not with a spirit of pretended infallibility, for in nothing more will the searcher for any truth find such a spirit severely rebuked, than in his own liability to err. It is adduced to show that, notwithstanding highly respected authority to the contrary, the evidence already presented substantiates the position, that there was a remnant of the Naumkeags still lingering around this settlement when first occupied by our fathers.

Relative to the composition of the Indian claim for the territory of Salem in 1686, it seems to denote that this matter was not virtually cancelled before. But there are various facts which exhibit a different view.

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll., s. 1, v. 6.



William Dixy,<sup>1</sup> who landed here in 1629, testified, "When we came to dwell heere, the Indians bid vs welcome, and shewed themselues very glad that we came to dwell among them, and I vnderstand they had kindly entertained the English y<sup>t</sup> came hether before wee came, and the English and the Indians had a feild in common, fenced in together, and the Indians fled to shelter themselves vnder the English oft times, saying they were afraid of their enemy Indians in the contry: in particular, I remember sometime after we arrived, the Agawam Indians complained to Mr. Endecott, that they weare afraid of other Indians, called, as I take it, Tarrateens; — Hugh Browne was sent with others in a boate to Agawam for the Indians' releife, and, at other times, wee gaue our neighbour Indians protection from their enemy Indians."

To the same import was the evidence of Humphrey Woodbury,<sup>2</sup> who came with Dixy. After stating that the Naumkeags welcomed them and fled to them for protection against the Tarrantines, he remarks, "Wee had their free leaue to build and plant where we haue taken up lands."

Of a like signification is the following passage from the Planters' Plea,<sup>3</sup> of 1630: "In times past the Tarrantines (who dwell from those of Mattachusetts bay, neere which our men are seated, about fifty or sixty leagues to the North-East,) inhabiting a soile unfit to produce that countrey graine, being the more hardy people, were accustomed yearely, at harvest, to come down in their canoes, and reape their fields, and carry

<sup>1</sup> Essex County Records. He was aged 73, in 1680-1.

<sup>2</sup> His age was 72, in 1680-1.

<sup>3</sup> Page 27.

away their corne, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened and kept them low in times past. From this evill our neighbourhood hath wholly freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates, which makes the *natives there so glad of our company.*"

From writers of that period it was a general impression that no objection should be arrayed against the right of our ancestors' occupying this settlement, because the natives did not merely consent, but were even glad to have them do so, as the great means of preventing their own extermination. In the minds of Indians, situated as they were, there could have been no other thoughts than that it was much for their benefit to exchange land which they could not improve, for a protection which enabled them to use the abundant surplus with feelings of security.

Besides, in two letters from the Company's Court, in London, to Governor Endicott, they were particular in desiring him to satisfy every just claim of the natives, made to the territory of Naumkeag. From his known promptitude and high sense of equity, there can be no rational doubt but that he fulfilled every iota of such instructions.

Such legislative care continued in various modes and instances. At a session of General Court, Oct. 19, 1652, there were several enactments<sup>1</sup> concerning Indian titles to land. "That what lands any of the Indeans, within this jurisdiccon, have by possession or improvement," shall be theirs. That whenever qualified and disposed to live among the English, the In-

<sup>1</sup> Colony Records, v. 4, p. 96-7.

dians shall have grants of land, or, to be incorporated by themselves, they shall be allowed townships, and participate in all civil rights, as the English do. While security is thus rendered to the natives, it is not withheld from the Colonists. "It is enacted, that all the tract of land within this jurisdiccon, whether already graunted to any English plantacon or persons, or to be graunted by this Courte, not being vnder the qualification of right to the Indeans, is and shall be accompted the just right of such English, as haue or hereafter shall haue grant of lands from this Courte and the authorietye thereof from that of Gennessis 1, 28, and the *invitacon* of the Indeans." These provisions approve themselves to every candid mind. They give no indication of a wish to lose sight of rectitude in the application of power. They repeat the argument of Indian presentation, as though it were "known and read of all men."

The subsequent demand of George, the Naumkeag Sachem, may have been based on some incident of this kind; that, being a minor when the affair was compromised with his guardian, it did not receive his mental consent, and, therefore, he would not hold to it as valid. The numerous instances of thus taking advantage of occasions, even among highly civilized communities, indicates that such policy in the Sagamore was no strange event in the circle of human conduct.

There is one fact which bears on this point. Ipswich was bought by John Winthrop, Jr., in 1638, of Masconnomet, for £20. In 1701, Topsfield paid £3 to one of this Sagamore's heirs, for the part originally included in the very same purchase of Mr. Winthrop.

This shows, that a demand's being brought against Salem for its territory by descendants of its former Sachem, does not decide but that every such claim was, at first, considered by both parties as settled.

Our position is further confirmed by the worthy Higginson, whose word, at any time, was as good as a bond. In a conversation<sup>1</sup> of his with Sir Edmund Andros and friends, he made the ensuing remarks: "I did certainly know that from the beginning of these plantations, our fathers entered upon the land, partly as a wilderness and *Vacuum Domicilium*, and partly by the consent of the Indians, and therefore care was taken to treat with them, and to gain their consent, giving them such a valuable consideration as was to their satisfaction; and this I told them I had the more certain knowledge of, because having learned the Indian language in my younger time, I was at several times made use of by the government, and by divers particular plantations, as an interpreter in treating with the Indians about their lands, which being done and agreed on, the several townships and proportions of lands of particular men were ordered and settled by the government of the country."

By such evidence, the question whether the Naumkeags had full satisfaction for the soil of our city—even before the deed—is, as we believe, settled in the affirmative. Still, even aside from the political motives, which then urged the measure, it was well to deal kindly with the descendants of the chiefs, who were once able to maintain their authority over the soil, from our own North River to the Mystic, and

<sup>1</sup> Revolution in N. E. justified, p. 19.

thus obtain a quitclaim from them so as to silence all subsequent demands.

Before bidding adieu to a subject which is one of the shades that "more sweetly recommends the light" of historic lore, we will view a description<sup>1</sup> of the Naumkeags and their neighboring tribes, from the eloquent pen of our patriarch Higginson. "For their governors, they have kings, which they call Saggamores, some greater and some lesser, according to the number of their subjects. The greater Saggamores about us cannot make above three hundred men, and other lesse Saggamores have not above fifteen subjects, and others neere about us but two. Their subjects, above twelve years since,<sup>2</sup> were swept away by a great and greivous plague, that was amongst them, so that their are verie few left to inhabite the country. The Indians are not able to make use of the one fourth part of the land, neither have they any settled places, as townes to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place.

"For their statures, they are a tall and strong limmed people, their colours are tawney, they goe naked, save onely they are in part covered with beasts' skins on one of their shoulders, and weare something before their privities; their haire is generally blacke, and cut before, like our gentele women, and one locke longer than the rest, much like to our gentlemen, which fashion, I thinke, came from hence into England.

"For their weapons, they have bowes and arrowes,

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 1, v. 1, pp. 122, 123.

<sup>2</sup> 1617. Other authorities speak of like pestilence at dates different from this.

some of them headed with bone, and some with brasse. I have sent you some of them for an example.

“The men, for the most, live idely ; they do nothing but hunt and fish. Their wives set their corne and do all their other work. They have little household stuffe, as a kettle and some other vessels, like trayes, spoones, dishes, and baskets. Their houses are very little and homely, being made with small poles, pricked into the ground, and so bended and fastened at the tops and on the sides, they are matted with boughs and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats; and for their beds that they take their rest on, they have a mat.

“They doe generally professe to like well of our coming and planting here ; partly because there is abundance of ground, that they cannot possesse nor make use of, and partly because our being here will bee a meanes both of relief to them when they want, and, also, a defence from their enemies, wherewith (I say) before this plantation began, they were often indangered.

“For their religion, they do worship two Gods, a good and an evil God. The good God they call Tantum, and their evil God, whom they fear will doe them hurt, they call Squantum.

“For their dealing with us, we neither fear them nor trust them, for fourtie of our musketeeres will drive five hundred of them out of the field. We use them kindly ; they will come into our houses sometimes by half a dozen or half a score at a time, when we are at victuals, but will ask or take nothing but what we give them.



"We purpose to learn their language as soon as we can, which will be a means to do them good."

In connection with so comprehensive a view of the aborigines, Mr. Higginson states that, in their business concerns, they sold beaver to the English for corn. But we are admonished, after so long a converse with the original occupants of our soil, that we should take our leave of them. Note the bright streak, curved on the sky before the break of dawn. Once it was full orb'd. Now rapidly fading away. Fit emblem of the Naumkeags, when first seen by the Pilgrims. They were fast in the wane. As a nation, they speedily disappeared. But that extinguished curve is to be re-illumin'd. Not so with them. Their only place of action is eternity. There they move amid the fixed laws of the moral universe. There we shall shortly behold them. That the sight may be blessed, we must improve the lesson of their adversity, so as to prosper in the attainments of spiritual elevation.

## INDIAN DEED.

From circumstances of the period, it is evident that there was one particular reason among others, why the succeeding document was obtained. It was the purpose of James II. to enforce his claim for the territory of our Province, on the plea that the Charter by which it had been held, was already forfeited. In connection with an argument of this kind, our ancestors well knew that diplomatic practice would call up every incidental query which could strengthen the regal pretension. They were aware, that however satisfaction had been rendered to the natives, at first,

for their right to the soil, yet, in all cases, wherein no written evidence of it could be adduced, there would be an attempt, by agents of the crown, to play off such an omission against the rightful proprietors. Hence the need of Salem and other like corporations, to procure formal conveyances of their lands, as a safeguard against the encroachments of the Usurpation.

### Deed.

To all people to whom this present deed of sale shall come. David Nonnuphanohow, Sam Wuttaannoh and John Tontchunne, Cicely's son, grandchildren of George Sagamore, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, both daughters of George Sagamore aforesaid, Thomas Vkqueakussennum, alias Capt. Tom, all of Waymessick, alias Chelmsford, in y<sup>e</sup> County of Middlesex, within His Majesties territory and dominion of New England in America. James Quanophkownatt, alias James Rumney Marsh, Israell Quanophkownatt, son of said James, Joanna Quanophkownatt, relict, widow of old John Quanophkownatt, Yawataw, relict, widow of John Oonsumog, Wuttawtinnusk, wife of Peter Ephraim, all of Natick, in y<sup>e</sup> county Middlesex within His Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England in America aforesaid, send greeting. Know ye, that we, y<sup>e</sup> above said, David Nonnuphanohow, Sam Wuttaannoh, Jn<sup>r</sup> Tontchunne, Cicely's son, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, Thomas Vkqueakussennum, alias Capt Tom, James Quanophkownatt, alias James Rumney Marsh, Israell Quanophkownatt, Joane Quanophkownatt, Yawataw, Wattawtinnusk, for and in consideration of y<sup>e</sup> full and just summe of twenty pounds, currant money of New England, to them in hand at and before y<sup>e</sup> ensealing and delivery of these presents,—By Jn<sup>r</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>r</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst, Israel Porter, Selectmen and Trustees for the town of Salem, in y<sup>e</sup> county of Essex, within His Majesties territory and dominion of New England, in America, well and truly paid the receipt whereof, they do hereby acknowledge, and themselves therewith to be fully satisfied and





contented, and thereof and of every part thereof, doe hereby acquitt, exonerate and discharge y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, as trustees—above said, their heirs, executors and administrators, as also all y<sup>e</sup> rest of y<sup>e</sup> Purchasers and Proprietors of said township of Salem, and each and every of them for ever by these presents, have given, granted, bargained, sold, aliened, enfeoffed, and confirmed, and by these presents doe fully, freely, clearly, and absolutely, giue, grant, bargain, sell, aliene, enfeoffe, and confirme unto them, y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, as trustees abovesaid, and to their Heirs and Assignes, for ever, to and for y<sup>e</sup> sole use, benefitt and behoof of the Proprietors in and purchasers of y<sup>e</sup> township of Salem aforesaid—All y<sup>e</sup> said township of Salem, viz. all that tract and parcell of Land lying to y<sup>e</sup> westward of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, whereupon y<sup>e</sup> town of Salem is built, so proceeding along to y<sup>e</sup> head of Neumkeage river, called by y<sup>e</sup> English, Bass river, so comprehending all y<sup>e</sup> land belonging to the township of Salem, according as it is butted and bounded with, and upon y<sup>e</sup> towns of Beverly, Wenham, Topsfield, Redding, Lynne and Marblehead, down to y<sup>e</sup> sea, which said land is a part of what belonged to the ancestors of y<sup>e</sup> granters and is their proper inheritance; or howsoever y<sup>e</sup> said township or any part or parcell thereof is butted and bounded or reputed to be bounded, together with all houses, edifices, buildings, lands, yards, orchards, gardens, meadows, marshes, feedings, grounds, rocks, stones, beach, flats, pastures, fences, commons, commons of pasture, woods, underwoods, swamps, waters, watercourses, dams, ponds, head wares, fishings, fowlings, wayes, easements, profits, priviledges, rights, commodities, emoluments, royalties, hereditaments, and appurtenances whatsoever—As also all mines, mettalls, mineralls, with all islands, and priviledges of Neumkeage river, alias Bass river, which the ancestors of said Granters heretofore rightfully possessed with all and singular their appurtenances—to y<sup>e</sup> said township of Salem and other y<sup>e</sup> premises, belonging or in any wise appertaining or therewith now used, occupied, or injoyed as part, parcell or member

thereof, and also all rents, arrearages of rents, quitt rents, rights of all things above named, as also all rivers, creeks, coves whatsoever, with all their priviledges and appurtenances (nothing excepted or reserved) and also all deeds, writings and evidences whatsoever, touching and concerning y<sup>e</sup> premises, or any part or parcell thereof—To have and to hold all y<sup>e</sup> said township of Salem, butted and bounded as abovesaid, with all other the above granted premises, with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances, and every part and parcell thereof hereby granted, bargained and sold, or meant, mentioned or intended to be hereby granted and sold unto y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardoer, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst, and Israel Porter, as trustees above said, and to their heirs and assignes for ever, to and for y<sup>e</sup> sole vse, benefit and behoof of y<sup>e</sup> proprietors in and purchasers of y<sup>e</sup> said township of Salem—And y<sup>e</sup> said David Nonnupbanohow, Sam Wuttaanoh, Jn<sup>o</sup> Tontohcunne, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, Thomas Vsqueakussennum, alias Capt Tom, James Quanophkownat, alias James Rumney Marsh, Israell Quanophkownatt, Joane Quanophkownatt, Yawataw, Wattawtinnusk, for themselves, their heirs, executors, administrators, joynly, severally and respectively, do hereby covenant, promise and grant to and with y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, as trustees above said, their heirs and assignes on behalf of y<sup>e</sup> proprietors and purchasers of y<sup>e</sup> said town of Salem in manner and form following, (that is to say,) that at y<sup>e</sup> time of this present bargaine and sale, and untill y<sup>e</sup> ensealing and delivery of these presents, they and their ancestors were y<sup>e</sup> true, sole and lawfull owners of all y<sup>e</sup> afore bargained premises, and were lawfully seized of and in y<sup>e</sup> same, and every part thereof in their own proper right, and haue in themselves full power, good right, and lawfull authority to grant, sell, convey and assure y<sup>e</sup> same unto y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, as trustees abovesaid, their heirs and assignes for y<sup>e</sup> vse abovesaid, as a good, perfect, and absolute estate of Inheritance in fee simple, without any manner of condition, reversion, or limita-


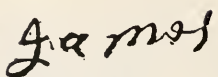




tion, whatsoever, so as to alter, change, defeat, or make void y<sup>e</sup> same, and y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, as trustees abovesaid, their heirs and assignes, for y<sup>e</sup> use and benefitt of the purchasers and proprietors of y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid township of Salem, shall and may by force and virtue of these presents, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, lawfully, peaceably and quietly have, hold, use, occupy, possess and injoy y<sup>e</sup> above granted premises, with their appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof, free and clear, and clearly acquitted and discharged of and from all and all manner of former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases, mortgages, joyntures, dowers, judgements, executions, forfeitures, and of and from all other titles, troubles, charges, and incumbrances whatsoever, had made, committed, done, or suffered to be done by y<sup>e</sup> said David Nonnuphanohow, Sam Wuttaanoh, Jn<sup>o</sup> Tontohqunne, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, Thomas Vsqueakussennum, alias Capt. Tom, James Quanophkownat, alias James Rumney Marsh, Israell Quanophkownat, Joane Quanophkownat, Yawataw, Wattauntinnusk, or either, or any of them, their or either or any of their heirs or assignes, or by their or either or any of their ancestors, at any time or times before y<sup>e</sup> ensealing hereof—And farther, that y<sup>e</sup> said David Nonnuphanohow, Sam Wuttaanoh, Jn<sup>o</sup> Tontohqunne, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, Thomas Vsqueakussennum, alias Capt. Tom, James Quanophkownat, alias James Rumney Marsh, Israel Quanaphkownat, Joane Quanophkownat, Yawataw, Wattauntinnusk, their heirs, executors and administrators, joyntly and severally, shall and will from time, and at all times for ever hereafter, warrant and defend y<sup>e</sup> above granted premises, with their appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof unto y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst, Israell Porter, trustees as above said, and to their heirs and assignes for ever, to and for y<sup>e</sup> sole vse and benefitt of y<sup>e</sup> proprietors and purchasers in and of y<sup>e</sup> said township of Salem, against all and every person and persons whatsoever any wayes lawfully claiming or demanding y<sup>e</sup> same or any part parcell thereof—And lastly, that they y<sup>e</sup> said David Nonnuphanohow, Sam Wuttaanoh, Jn<sup>o</sup> Tontohqunne,



Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, Thomas Vsqueakusennum, alias Capt. Tom, James Quanophkownatt, alias James Rumney Marsh, Israell Quanophkownatt, Joane Quanophkownatt, Yawataw, Wattawtinnusk, or either or any of them, their or any of their heirs, executors or administrators, shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter when thereunto required at y<sup>e</sup> cost and charges of y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, their heirs or assigns, or y<sup>e</sup> purchasers and proprietors of y<sup>e</sup> said township of Salem, do, make, acknowledge, execute, and suffer all and every such farther act and acts, thing and things, assurances and conveyances in y<sup>e</sup> law whatsoever for y<sup>e</sup> further and better surety and suremaking of y<sup>e</sup> abovesaid township of Salem, with y<sup>e</sup> rights, hereditaments and appurtenances above, by these presents, mentioned to be bargained and sold vnto y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, trustees as abovesaid, and to their heirs and assigns for y<sup>e</sup> vse aforesaid, as by y<sup>e</sup> said Jn<sup>o</sup> Ruck, Jn<sup>o</sup> Higginson, Samuel Gardner, Timothy Lindall, William Hirst and Israel Porter, trustees as above said, their heirs or assigns or said proprietors, or by their counsell, learned in y<sup>e</sup> law, shall be reasonably devised, advised or required. In witness whereof, the said David Nonnuphanohow, Sam Wuttaanoh, John Tontohqunne, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Sarah Wuttaquatinnusk, Thomas Vkkeakussennum, alias Capt. Tom, James Quanophkownatt, alias James Rumney Marsh, Israel Quanophkownatt, Joane Quanophkownatt, Yawataw, Wattawtinnusk, have hereunto set their hands and seals, the eleventh day of October, anno domini, one thousand six hundred eighty and six, annoque regni regis Jacobi II. Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hybernix, fidei defensoris secundo :

	The mark of		The marke of		The mark of		The mark of
David		Sam <sup>ll</sup>		John		Cicely	
	Nonnuphanohow.		Wuttaanoh.		Tontohqunne.		Petaghuncksq.



The mark of	The mark <sup>1</sup> of	The mark of
Thomas 	James 	Israel 
Vsqueakussennum, alias Capt. Tom.	Quanophkownat, alias Rumney Marsh.	Quanophkownat.
.		
The mark of	The mark of	The mark of
Joane 		
Quanophkownat.	Yawataw.	Wattawtinnusk.

Signed, sealed and delivered by David Nonnuphanohow, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Thomas Vsqueakussennum, alias Capt. Tom, James Quanophkownat, alias Rumney Marsh, Israel Quanophkownat, Joane Quanophkownat, Yawataw, Wattawtinnusk, as their act and deed in y<sup>e</sup> presence of us, after y<sup>e</sup> same was read to them:

ANDREW ELLIOTT, senior,  
THOMAS WEST,  
JOHN HILL, senior,  
SAMUEL HARDIE,  
WILLIAM WOODBERY.

*This instrument was acknowledged by David Nonnuphanohow, Cicely Petaghuncksq, Thomas Vsqueakussennum, alias Captain Tom, James Quanophkownat, alias Rumney Marsh, Israel Quanophkownat, Joane Quanophkownat, Yawataw, Wattawtinnusk to be their act and deed, this eleventh day of October, 1686, before me, Bartholomew Gedney, one of his Majesties counsell for his territory and dominions of New England in America.<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> It is so on the deed, but James evidently wrote his name. There is want of uniformity in the orthography of the original deed, particularly as to the Indian names.

<sup>2</sup> Though Sam Wuttaanoh signed this deed, he is not named among those who acknowledged the signing of it before B. Ged-

ney. In the deed, all the Indian signatures are on one horizontal line. In comparing the copy of this document with that in the Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 1, v. 6, various discrepancies will appear. But great pains have been used to have the former of these two correct.

## SETTLEMENT.

Before we give our attention to particulars, it may be well to look at the general causes which gave rise to this community.

Prior to the elevation of Bishop Abbot in 1610, some of his predecessors in office had turned the torrent of their influence against the Puritan conformists as well as the separatists from Episcopacy. But he suppressed such treatment towards the former denomination, because they were more exemplary than other members of the national church. He continued to exercise this leniency till his ejection by Charles I., in 1627. Then Laud was promoted by royal favor. He was a strenuous advocate for the tenets of Arminius, and a powerful opposer of the Puritans whether in or out of the established pale. Through the exertions of him and his supporters, the condition of such Christians became exceedingly oppressive. They prayed, hoped, and looked for brighter days; but the prospect gathered darkness. They were reduced to the hard necessity of either relinquishing conscientious worship, or be subjected to continual disquietude in person and estate, or else expatriate themselves for rest in some foreign clime.

So situated, the leading promoters of a settlement here felt themselves obligated to prepare it as a refuge for all of kindred faith and practice, who chose to escape hither. Those of them and others, who first emigrated to our shores, had been brought up in the Episcopal order; nor did the most of them secede from it till after their arrival.

Hence, we perceive, that a purpose to be free from the sufferings of persecution and to enjoy an undisturbed attendance on sanctuary duties, led our ancestors to forsake the endearments of native home, and to adopt this soil, fraught with perils and afflictions, as the abode of themselves and their descendants. While such was the leading motive, they connected another with it of like exalted nature. This was to endow the aborigines around them with the teachings of Revelation, so that they too might be brought under its elevating, improving and saving efficacy.

Hence we discern that few communities can claim a nobler origin, as to the motives and character of their founders, than our own city. Her commencement was not in giving free scope to the baser passions of man, but in bringing them under dutiful subjection, and overcoming them by those of loftier aims and more blessed tendencies. It was to spread the best influences of education, as conducted and controlled by the gospel, and thus to lay the broad basis of philanthropy, liberty and religion. Let other codes of morals, other nomenclatures of opinion, cast reproach on such a beginning. But what can they avail? They are nothing more than the figments of diseased fancy; than the offspring of perverted conscience. They are doomed to degradation. Whatever may be laid to her charge, Naumkeag, comparatively viewed, has no cause to blush at her infancy, childhood, youth and maturity. So far as she has departed from the righteous policy of her ancestors, may she return and sit undismayed and unharmed under the branches which were nurtured by their

toils, and are still verdant and fruitful through the genial influence of their principles and examples.

By the term settlement, it is intended to embrace various occurrences which relate to Salem, from its beginning until the removal of the government, under Mr. Winthrop, to Charlestown.

Salem was indebted, for its first settlement, to the failure of a planting, fishing and trading enterprise at Cape Anne.<sup>1</sup> For this place,<sup>2</sup> the company in England, for New Plymouth, had obtained a charter, by the date of January 24, 1624, as a fit location for profitable business. From them leave<sup>3</sup> appears to have been soon given to merchants in the west of England, who had traded in and about the same territory for several years, to employ emigrants there for purposes of gain. These merchants<sup>4</sup> and others, raised a stock of more than £3,000, as an earnest of something to be done in this quarter. In such an undertaking, they were zealously and efficiently prompted by the Rev. John White<sup>5</sup> of Dorchester. His engagedness, in this matter, arose chiefly from his benevolent desire to secure a retreat for his countrymen, who, while still adhering to the government of the national church, could not approve of what they deemed its

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's N. E. p. 105, says, that Tragabizandi, a name given by Capt. John Smith, was exchanged by Capt Mason for Cape Anne, in honor of the consort of James I.

<sup>2</sup> Hubbard's N. E. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Smith quoted by Prince, 151.

<sup>4</sup> Planters' Plea, 68-9.

<sup>5</sup> Echard's History of England, p. 653 "Mr. John White, a famous Puritan divine, usually called

the Patriarch of Dorchester, where he was for many years minister, and where he showed an excellent faculty in the clear and solid interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. He was a man of great gravity, presence and influence, in his party, for several years, and one of the Assembly of Divines, where he proved himself one of the most learned and moderate amongst them."

faults, and were consequently subject to severe trials. He<sup>1</sup> had learned that individuals of the Plymouth plantation were gone thence with their families and resided at Nantasket.

The occasion of such a separation was their siding with the Rev. Jno. Lyford,<sup>2</sup> who was ordered to quit the former settlement, chiefly for endeavoring to promote Episcopacy among its inhabitants.

Of those thus seceded, Roger Conant was chosen Governor, and also to take charge of the planting and fishing instead of others; John Oldham, of the Indian trade, which he declined; and Mr. Lyford, of the ministry,—at the Cape. For a choice of this kind Mr. White appears to have been favorable, but especially as to Mr. Conant.

Governor Bradford relates,<sup>3</sup> that such was the concern which the proprietors of his plantation, who were at home, had in this election, that it was one occasion of dissolving their body and inducing two thirds of them to forsake him and his friends, under heavy responsibilities. The party<sup>4</sup> so withdrawing, had been disaffected more than two years with the people of New Plymouth. They had approved of Mr. Lyford's measures while he was in that colony. They evidently resolved to sustain him and his adherents at the Cape, and hoped to succeed here though they had failed there. But they were soon to be disappointed.

In about a year from the going of Mr. Conant to

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard, 92, 93, 102, 106, 107.

<sup>2</sup> "Master Layford was, at the merchants' charge, sent to Plymouth Plantation to be their pastor." But as he refused to give up his conformity with the Epis-

copal church, the most of the people there ejected him. New English Canaan.

<sup>3</sup> Prince, 154.

<sup>4</sup> Prince, 155; Hubbard, 93.

that place, and two and a half years<sup>1</sup> from its being occupied, it was relinquished by its proprietors as the place of a disastrous speculation. Nearly all the capital, previously mentioned, was sunk before the settlement was abandoned.

1626. The people<sup>2</sup> collected at Cape Ann, were of divers sentiments and from various places. The land men,<sup>3</sup> except a few of good character, embarked for home. Others, from the west of England, resorted to Naumkeag. Such an event seems to have taken place early in the fall.

The location,<sup>4</sup> so chosen, had been previously regarded by Mr. Conant as a suitable refuge for such as desired to escape from religious intolerance. He had accordingly written of it to his friends in England.

Among the settlers of this place, besides himself, were Mr. Lyford, John Woodbury, John Balch, Peter Palfrey, Richard Norman<sup>5</sup> and son, William Allen and Walter Knight.

In the mean while, Mr. White, "being grieved in his spirit" for the relinquishment of the Cape, wrote<sup>6</sup> and urged Mr. Conant and his lay-associates, not to forsake Naumkeag. He encouraged them to expect a patent for their greater protection, additional emigrants, supplies for their own wants, and for trade with the natives. They returned him answer, that they would comply with his proposals. The most of them, however, became discontented with their new abode. The dread of Indian hostilities and present

<sup>1</sup> Planter's Plea, 73.

<sup>2</sup> Gorges Description of New England, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Planters' Plea, 75.

<sup>4</sup> Prince, 157.

<sup>5</sup> Deposition of Richard Brack-  
enbury.

<sup>6</sup> Hubbard, 107.



necessities, seriously affected them. Besides, they had an invitation to accompany their pastor to Virginia. Being partakers of his trials and strongly attached to him, several expressed a wish to go with him. But through reasoning and persuasion they were induced to continue.

On this subject let Mr. Conant speak his own language:<sup>1</sup> "Being one of the first, if not the very first, that resolved and made good any settlement, under God, in matter of plantation, with my family, in this Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and have been instrumental both for the founding and carrying on of the same. When in the infancy thereof, it was in great hassard of being deserted. I was a meanes, through grace assisting me, to stop the flight of those few that then were heere with me, and that, by my vtter deniall to goe away with them who would haue gone either for England or mostly for Virginia, but there-upon stayed to the hassard of our lives." He adds, that the first house of the settlement was his. Thus successful in preventing the desertion of Naumkeag, Mr. Conant and his companions were left by their minister, who went to Virginia, where he soon died.

The plantation, so formed, received increasing attention<sup>2</sup> and sympathy at home. Others were there besides Mr. White and his friends, who earnestly seconded his views, purposes and exertions.

1627. With reference to the patrons thus rising up, Governor Dudley wrote to the Countess of Lincoln: "About the year 1627, some friends, being together in Lincolnshire, fell into discourse about New

<sup>1</sup> *Masc. Archives, Towns, vol i.*  
page 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Hubbard's New England, p.*  
108.

England and the planting of the gospel there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons by letters and messengers to some in London and the west country, where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length, with often negotiations, so ripened, as to have proposals made for a charter."

While light was thus dawning on the strangers of Naumkeag, they thought it well for one of their number<sup>1</sup> to cross the ocean and explain their condition to those interested in their prosperity. For this office, they selected John Woodbury. He went and gave the information, sought and needed by proper inquirers. His visit to the relations and scenes of his nativity, being for six months, extended to the former part of the succeeding year.

1628. Mr. White and his coadjutors made application for State license, privilege and protection. They obtained a grant from the council for New England. This body, by a written document of March 19, 1628, new style, conveyed the soil, then denominated Massachusetts Bay, to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Knights, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott<sup>2</sup> and Simon Whetcombe, gentlemen.

These grantees were from and about Dorchester.

The bounds of their colony, so granted, were "between three miles to the northward of Merrimack river and three miles to the southward of Charles river, and in length, within the described breadth, from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea." As well

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Woodbury's deposition. spelt his surname with an *e* in the second syllable instead of an *i*.

<sup>2</sup> Governor Endicott invariably

known, these limits were so indefinite, as to become the source of much subsequent litigation and cost, on the several frontiers.

An interest<sup>1</sup> in the plantation, so tolerated by the sovereign, spread in various parts of his kingdom. It was regarded as the final resort of Christians, not yet departed from the pale of the national church, but who were grieved for its lack of purity, and oppressed for non-compliance with its abuses. Mr. White, still acting on his beneficent rule for providing good for others, though not permitted to share in it himself, introduced the patentees to other persons of and about London, who possessed respectability, property and piety. He was well aware that to attempt great and durable things in a wilderness, without such builders, was indeed a Babel-like enterprise. Among the recent supporters of the colony, were Messrs. Winthrop, Saltonstall, Johnson, Dudley, Cradock and Goffe.

Soon after so hopeful a junction of kindred sympathies, purposes and motives, Matthew Cradock was chosen Governor, Thomas Goffe, Deputy Governor, and others, Assistants.

While the prospect<sup>2</sup> of the colonists was becoming brighter in their native land, it was not without its clouds in their immediate view. Like the rest of well disposed settlers, from Piscataqua to Plymouth, they were much alarmed by the course of Thomas Morton at Mount Wollaston. He and his associates, sold arms and ammunition to the Indians, indulged themselves in dissipation, and otherwise imperiled

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's N. E., 108, 109.      chusetts Historical Collection, 1 s.

<sup>2</sup> Bradford's letters in Massa-      3 v. 62, 3, 4, 6.

the peace and welfare of New England. The principal men of the places within the range mentioned, requested Plymouth to send an armed force and apprehend Morton. This was done. The cost of the enterprise was £12 7<sup>s</sup> of which Naumkeag was assessed £1 10<sup>s</sup>. The chief persons of these plantations wrote to his Majesty's council, June 9, and specified the leading charges against Morton, who was sent home for trial, under the care of John Oldham, in the vessel which bore the letter. They also wrote by the same to Sir Ferdinando Gorges on the like topic. In both epistles, they state their fear that the Indians, being supplied with fire arms by Morton and other traders, are purposing to attack them; and that unless such English offenders are punished, they shall be forced to quit America.

To prosecute their purpose more fully, the company, however having reason to think highly of Roger Conant's integrity, as the Governor of their plantation, thought best to select one of their own number for such an office. They accordingly chose John Endicott. Governor Bradford called him "a worthy gentleman;" and the author of the Planters' Plea thus wrote of him, "a man well known to divers persons of good note."

Due preparations being made for the voyage, it was no longer deferred. Mr. Endicott, with his wife and company, sailed <sup>1</sup> in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gauden,<sup>2</sup> master, from Weymouth, June 20, for their contem-

<sup>1</sup> The bills of lading for this vessel were signed June 20, which has been supposed to be the date of her sailing, though it may have been later.

<sup>2</sup> This name, Gauden, is also spelt Godden, on the records of the company.

plated home in a new world. They reached their destination the sixth of September. Striking must have been the scene on this occasion. The islands and main shores are covered with woods, thronged with their wild inhabitants. The harbor abounds with sportive fish, far exceeding the wants of adjacent settlers. The new Governor, with his wife and friends near the strand, which they had ardently wished to behold. On one side, the old planters, with the benevolent Conant at their head. On another, the Indians, with their minor Sagamore and his guardian before them. Those on the land gaze intently on the new comers as they approach. Every one receives a silent impression of the stranger, as he looks upon his face. The thoughts and feelings of the whole company are out of the common course. The doings and emotions of that day were never effaced from their memory. It was no ordinary theme for the pencil of an artist. Its well drawn sketch would deserve to be classed with that of the pilgrims at Plymouth rock.

Mr. Endicott wrote, on the 13th, an account<sup>1</sup> of their arrival, to Mr. Cradock. 'The "good report he sent back of the country, gave such encouragement to the worke, that more adventurers joined with the first vndertakers. Uniting his own men with those, which were formerly planted in the country, into one body, they made up in all not much above fiftie or sixtie persons."

Shortly after Mr. Endicott came over, he visited the residence of Morton,<sup>2</sup> to rectify abuses among his remaining associates. He caused their "May-pole to

<sup>1</sup> Hazard, v. i. p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Morton's Memorial, 137, 138.

be cut down and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better, so the name was again changed and called Mount Dagon."

Among the emigrants who came in the Abigail, were Richard Brackenbury, Richard Davenport, Charles Gott, Ralph, Richard and William Sprague, and William Trask. Their motives were various. Some were mainly actuated by desires for religious liberty, and others by hopes of gain. Still the prime movers for settling the colony purposed, as already signified, to prepare it as an asylum for those on whom the band of pelacy was too heavily laid.

Mr. Endicott brought with him goods of the company in order to traffic with the natives for beaver, otter, and other furs. He stated to the planters<sup>1</sup> who preceded him, that he and his associate patentees had purchased all the property and privileges of the Dorchester partners, which were here and at Cape Ann.

Near this date there was an incident of no common interest to the colonists. The relation of it, by a credible person,<sup>2</sup> follows: "About y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1628, when those few y<sup>t</sup> came out with Collonel Indecot and began to settle at Nahumkeick, now called Salem, and in a manner all so seek of y<sup>e</sup> journey, that though they had both small and great guns, and powder and bullets for y<sup>m</sup>, yet had not strength to manage y<sup>m</sup> if suddenly put upon it, and tidings being certainly brought y<sup>m</sup> on a Lord's day morning y<sup>t</sup> a thousand

<sup>1</sup> Richard Brackenbury's Deposition.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Thomas Cobbet of Ipswich, wrote the account to Rev. Increase Mather in 1677, and says,

that he had it from an old man, named Button, who died at Haverhill, 1672, and who was at Salem, 1628, when the event took place.



Indians from Sugust were coming against y<sup>m</sup> to cut y<sup>m</sup> off; they had much adoe amongst y<sup>m</sup> all to charge two or three of y<sup>m</sup> great guns and traile y<sup>m</sup> to a place of advantage where y<sup>e</sup> Indians must pass to y<sup>m</sup> and and there to shoot y<sup>m</sup> off, when they heard their noise they made in y<sup>e</sup> woods, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Indians drew near, y<sup>e</sup> noise of which great artillery, to which y<sup>e</sup> Indians were never wouted before, did occasionally (by y<sup>e</sup> good hand of God) strike such dread into y<sup>m</sup>, y<sup>t</sup> by some lads, which lay as scouts in y<sup>e</sup> woods, they were heard reiterate that outcrie (O Obbomock) and then fled confused back with all speed, when none pursued."

After Mr. Endicott arrived at Naumkeag, he commissioned Messrs. Ralph, Richard and William Sprague and others,<sup>1</sup> to explore the country about Mishawum, now Charlestown. Here they met with a tribe of Indians, called Aberginians. By the consent of these, they commenced a plantation. They were followed by other respectable colonists the next year. Mr. Endicott was glad to have that territory so occupied, in order to prevent its coming into the hands of others, who should disclaim the authority of the Massachusetts corporation. While he was on his voyage hither, John Oldham was on his for London, to negotiate about the same land. This was part of a large grant,<sup>2</sup> extending from the east of Charles river, made to Robert Gorges in 1622, by the council for New England. As claimed by Oldham and John Dorrell,<sup>3</sup> (through purchase of John Gorges, brother to said

<sup>1</sup> Charlestown Records.

<sup>2</sup> Mass. Arch. Lands, v. i. p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hazard, v. i. p. 263.

Robert, deceased,) the company, by the April next after its being occupied by the Messrs. Spragues, sent orders to Mr. Endicott, that he cause it to be inhabited, so that such claimants might not have the additional plea of pre-occupancy.

As would naturally be anticipated in view of the circumstances, there was not perfect harmony<sup>1</sup> between the first planters of Naumkeag and their successors. A principal question at issue between them was, that the former wished to raise tobacco,<sup>2</sup> as requisite for their maintenance, while Mr. Endicott and council deemed such a production, except for medicine, as injurious to health and morals. It is very likely that there were other main sources of alienation between these two classes. One, the sale made by the Dorchester proprietors of their patent of the colony to the Massachusetts corporation. Another, the communion, in sentiment, of Mr. Endicott and his friends with the Plymouth church, and thus promoting a separation from Episcopal formularies.

The colonists who remained at Naumkeag, were called to endure severe afflictions.<sup>3</sup> Their refuge from civil and religious oppression, presented a scene of no common calamities. Some had scarcely a suitable place to lay their head on, or food to satisfy the cravings of their hunger. A large proportion of them died with the scurvy and other diseases. As an enhancement of their distress, while sickness was making its ravages among them, they were destitute of regular medical assistance. To supply so fearful

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's *N. E.* 109, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Hazard, v. i. p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Hubbard, 110. Bradford's Let-

ters in *Mass. His. Coll.* s. i, v. i. p. 66. Mr. Dudley's letter.

and dangerous a deficiency, Dr. Samuel Fuller of Plymouth, like a good Samaritan, came among them.

1629. While the people of Naumkeag were called to endure the sufferings common to new colonies, they were not without the benevolent remembrances of their countrymen.

#### LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR IN LONDON.

Feb. 16. Matthew Cradock wrote<sup>1</sup> to Mr. Endicott in the most friendly and encouraging terms. He expressed much satisfaction as to his motives and conduct, and an interest in the welfare of his wife,<sup>2</sup> who was in ill health after she came hither, and to whom he sustained the relation of cousin.

He mentioned, that the company had been enlarged recently, and purposed to send over two or three hundred emigrants with two ministers, and one hundred head of cattle; that they had bought one ship of two hundred tons, and hired two more, each of two hundred tons, one of ten and the other of nineteen guns.

He desired Mr. Endicott to prepare houses for the passengers, and return cargoes for the vessels, such as fish, two or three hundred firkins of sturgeon, timber, sassafras, sarsaparilla, sumach, silk grass and beaver.

With regard to the influence of the colonists on the natives, he remarked as follows: "Wee trust you will not be vnmindfull of the mayne end of our plan-

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Colony Records. Mr. Cradock did not receive Mr. Endicott's letter, dated September 13, till 13th of next February. He made a minute at the bottom of his letter as follows: "From my howse in Swithenslane, neere London stone, this 16 of februarye, 1628. Stilo Angliæ."

<sup>2</sup> This lady had probably died before the epistle of Governor Cradock reached Naumkeag. The new English Canaan says, that her decease took place in one of Dr. Fuller's visits here.

tacon by indevoringe to bringe y<sup>e</sup> Indians to the knowledge of the Gospell, which y<sup>t</sup> it may be y<sup>e</sup> speedier and better effected, y<sup>e</sup> earnest desire of our whole company is y<sup>t</sup> you have a dilligent and watchfull eye ouer our owne people ; that they live vnblameable and without reproofe, and demeane themselves iustlye and curteous towards y<sup>e</sup> Indians, thereby to drawe them to affect our persons and consequentlye our Religion, as alsoe to endeavour to gett some of their children to trayne vp to readinge and consequentlye to religion whilst they are yonge ; herein to yonge or olde to omitt noe good opportunity y<sup>t</sup> maye tend to bringe them out of y<sup>t</sup> woefull state and condicon they nowe are in, in which case our predecessors in this our land sometymes were, and but for y<sup>e</sup> mercye and goodness of our good God, might have continued to this daye. But 'God, whoe out of the boundless ocean of his mercye hath shewed pittie and compassion to our land, he is alsufficient and can bringe this to passe, which wee now desire in y<sup>t</sup> countrie likewise, onlie let vs not be wantinge on our partes nowe wee are called to y<sup>e</sup> worke of the Lords, neither havinge put our handes to the plowe let us looke back."

He mentioned that Hugh Peters, then in Holland, had been expected to come over, but had not returned, and that the clergymen, engaged to emigrate hither, had been approved by the Rev. Messrs. John White and John Davenport. He advised that the first settlers be allowed a short time longer to cultivate tobacco. He cautioned Mr. Endicott not to have too great confidence in the Indians, lest they should act the perfidious and bloody scene of Virginia.

Mr. Cradock towards the close of his letter gave this benediction: "The God of heaven and earth preserve and keepe you from all flōrayne and inland enemies, and bless and prosper this plantacon to the enlarginge of the kingdome of Jesus Christ, to whose mercifull proteccion I recommend you and your associates there, knowne or vnknowne." Fit words for the author and occasion. Not only in its adverse commencement, but also in its prosperous continuance, should every Commonwealth feel and express its dependence on the arm of Infinite goodness.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT OF ASSISTANTS IN  
LONDON.

Desirous to strengthen the planters, the company devised means for sending to them a reinforcement of emigrants, cattle and stores. From the tattered relics of their journal we learn various particulars of their proceedings. They collect for exportation the subsequent articles:<sup>1</sup> 2 loads of chalk, 10 m. bricks, 5 chaldron of sea coal, 1 tun of iron, 2 fagots of steele, 1 fodder of lead, nails and red lead,—apparel for 100 men, 400 pair of shoes, 300 pair of stockings, 200 of which to be Irish at 13<sup>d</sup> a pair in Dublin, and 100 pair of-knit at 2/4., 10 dozen pair of Norwich garters at 5/. a dozen, 400 shirts, 200 "sutes, dublett and hose, of leather lyned with oiled skin leather, y<sup>e</sup> hose and dublett with hooks and eyes; 100 sutes of Norden dussens or hampsheere kersies lyned, the hose with skins, the dubletts with linen of gilford or gedlynan; sergeyes 2/10 to 3/ a yard, 4½ to 5

<sup>1</sup> This was about February. Mass. Colony Records.

yards a sute ; 400 bands, 300 playne falling bands ; 100 wastcoates of greene cotton bound about with red tape ; 100 lether girdles ; 100 munmouth capps, about 2<sup>a</sup> a peece ; 100 black hatts, lyned in the browes with lether ; 500 redd knit capps, milled about 5<sup>d</sup> a peece ; 200 dussen hookes and eyes, and small hookes and eyes for mandillions ; 16 dussen of gloues, whrof 12 dussen calf's lether, and 2 dussen tand sheep's lether, and 2 dussen kyd ; sheine lynyen for handkerchers ;  $\frac{1}{2}$  a decker<sup>1</sup> of leather of the best beue lether ; 50 matts to lye vnder 50 bedds aboard shippe ; 50 ruggs ; 50 peare of blanketts of Welsh cotton ; 100 peare of sheetes ; 50 bed tykes and bolsters, with wool to put them in ; Skotch ticking ; lynnyn for towels, and tableclothes, and napkins. Sea chests ; 4 cwt. hopps. Agreed<sup>2</sup> the apparell to bee 100 mandillions, lyned with cotton, 12<sup>d</sup> a yard ; breeches and wastcotes ; and 100 lether sutes dubletts and breeches of oyled lether ; 100 pr. breeches of leather drawers to serve to weare with boeth there other sutes." Guns and gunpowder and cattle, were enumerated among the articles for the emigrants.

"Men skylful in making of pitch and salt, and vyne planters," were to be sent over. The Assistants ordered that ministers, a patent under seal, and a seal, be provided for New England.

They required the succeeding items to be obtained for the same direction : wheat, rye, barley, a hogshead of each in the ear, beans, peas, stones of all sorts of fruites, as peaches, plums, filberts, cherries, pear, apple, quince kernels, poinegranets, woadseed, saffron heads, liquor-

<sup>1</sup> Dicker is ten hides.

<sup>2</sup> March 16.



ice seed, madder roots, potatoes, hop roots, hemp seed, flax seed, conies, currant plants, tame turkies, shoes, linen cloth, woollen cloth, pewter bottles of a pint and quart, brass ladles, and spoons, copper kettles, oiled skins<sup>1</sup> of leather and madder seed.

Feb. 23. Continuing their judicious preparations for the colony, the same court ordered<sup>2</sup> £100 to be paid in part for the charge of passage and diet for Governor Endicott, his wife and company, and goods on freight, being 46½ tuns, from Weymouth to Naumkeag.

Feb. 26. They mentioned various articles as needful for the plantation: 5 pieces of ordnance to be placed in the hands of Samuel Sharpe, who was to have carriages made for them; arms for 100 men; 3 drums to each 2 pair of heads; 2 ensigns; 2 partizhens, i. e. commander's leading staves for captain and lieutenant; 3 halberts for 3 serjeants; 80 bastard muskets with snaphances, 4 feet in the barrel without rests; 6 long fowling pieces with musket bore, 6½ feet long; 4 do. with bastard musket bore, 5½ feet long; 10 full muskets, 4 feet barrels with match cocks and rests; 90 bandeleers for the muskets, each with a bullet bag; 10 horn flasks for the long fowling pieces to hold 1 pound a piece; 100 swords and belts; 60 corslets, 60 pikes, 20 half pikes, 12 barrels of powder, 8 of them for the fort and 4 for small shot, 1 pound of shot to a bandaleer; 8 pieces of land ordnance for the fort whereof 5 were already provided, namely, 2 demy culverings 30 cwt. weight apiece,

<sup>1</sup> In the company's letter of April 17th, 1629, they remark: "Wee haue made our servants' apparell of cloth and lether, which lether is not of oyle skins, for wee found them over deere."  
<sup>2</sup> Mass. Colony Records.

3 sackers, each weighing 25 cwt., and 3 to be provided, being 1 whole culvering "as long as may be," and 2 small pieces, iron drakes, a fit proportion of great shot for the ordnance.

From the military they proceeded to enumerate other things. A seine to catch fish. For the Talbot, if having 100 passengers and 35 mariners, 45 tuns of beer, "whereof 6 tuns 4/. and 39 tuns 6/." Malaga and Canary casks 16/. a tun; 6 tuns of water; 12 m. of bread after  $\frac{3}{4}$  cwt. to a man; 22 "hheds of bieffe;" 40 bushels of peas, a peck a man for the voyage; 20 bushels of oatmeal; 4 cwt. "haberdynne," or dried, salted cod; 8 dozen pounds of candles; 2 tierces of beer vinegar;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bushel of mustard seed; 20 gallons of oil "gallipolis or mayorke;" 2 firkins of soap; 2 rundlets of Spanish wine, 10 gallons a piece, 4000 of billets; 10 firkins of butter; 10 cwt. of cheese, and 20 gallons aquavitæ.

An agreement was made with John Hewson, to make neat's leather shoes, for men, some at 2/1 and others at 2/4.

March 2. Still intent on business for advancing the colony, the court assembled. They were the Governor, Deputy, Messrs Wright, Vassal, Harwood, Cowlson, Adams, Nowel, Whetcombe, Perry and Johnson. They agreed to employ James Edmonds, a sailor, being a cooper and fisher, who required £10 the first year, £15 the second, and £20 the third year; and Sydrach Miller, a cooper and cleaver, with his man, for £45 the first year, and £50 the second and third year, "to be at charges with all."

"Also for Mr. John Malbon it was propounded, he hauinge skylle in Iron works and willing to put in

£25<sup>1</sup> in stocke, it should bee accepted as £50, and his charges to bee bore out and home from New England and vppon his returne, and report what may bee done about Iron works consyderacon to be had of proceeding therein accordingly, and further recompence if there be cause to intertayne him."

"Towching making of salt, it was conseaued flytt that commoddetty should be reserued for the generall stocks benefitt, yeet with this prouiso, that euery planter or brother of the company should haue as much as he might aney way haue occasyon to make vse of, at as cheape rate as themselues cowld make it, prouided if the company bee not sufficiently prouided for themselves, then particuler men may haue liberty to make for there owne expence and vse aney way, but not to transporte nor sell."

The Governor was empowered to confer with John Oldham, so that the company be not injured.

"Also it beeing propounded by Mr. Coney in the behalfe of the Boston men, whereof dyuers had promised, though not in our booke vnderwritten, to aduenture £400 in the joint stock, that nowe there desire was, that ten persons of them might vnderwrite, £25 a man, in the joint stock; they withall promisinge with theise shippes to aduenture in there particuler aboue £250 more, and to prouide abell men to send ouer for manadging the buissines, which though it bee preiudicall to the generall stock by the abatement of so much money thereout, yeet appearing realley to conduce more to the good of the Plantacon, which is most desired, it was condiseded vnto."

<sup>1</sup> The sign to 25 is like s, but £ was probably intended.

March 3. "It was debated howe some good course might be setteled for the deuission of the lands, and that all men intendinge to goe in person or to send ouer, might vnderwrite and seale some instrument to bee made, whereby euery man to bee tyed to such orders as shalbee agreed vppon here; and that a coppey of this agreement be sent to Dorchester ffor all men to vnderwrite and seale that intend to take their passage in the Lyons Whelpe, or ells order to bee taken that the shippe proceede without them."

A contract had been made with Samuel Sharpe for three years, at £10 a year, "to haue the ouersight of the ordnance to bee planted in the ffort to be built vppon the plantacon, and what ells may concerne artillery busines to geeue his aduize in. But ffor all other implymnts was left to bee intertayned by any particuler brethren of the companie, who for other occasions hath intertayned him alreddy, and held not fytt to bee at furder chardge in that kynde."

#### CHARTER CONFIRMED.

1629. March 4. On petition of those who received a grant of Massachusetts from the council for New England, nearly a year before, King Charles confirms<sup>1</sup> the same to them and other associates. The names of this new company were Sir Henry

<sup>1</sup> As proof that this charter was not surreptitiously obtained, as strongly asserted during the reign of Charles II. we have the succeeding note, from a docket in relation to it, and among the New England papers in the Privy Seal office at Whitehall: "His Majesty's pleasure, signified by Sir

Ralph Freeman, upon direction of the lord keeper of the great seal; sub-cribed by Mr. Attorney General; procured by the lord viscount Dorchester; February, 1628. Their charter passed 4th March following." Chalmer's Political Annals, p. 147, 8.

Rosewell,<sup>1</sup> Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Mathew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassal, William Pinchion and George Foxcroft. For these and all such as should be admitted to the freedom of their association, the charter made various provisions, with part of which, as giving a cast and complexion to our colonial policy, it is deemed advisable to connect some passing remarks.

Among the privileges granted to the patentees were the following: They were to be a body corporate and politic, called the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. Their Legislature was to be composed of a Governor, Deputy, and eighteen Assistants. These officers were to be of the freemen, and elected every Spring, on the last Wednesday of Easter term, by the General Assembly, which embraced all members of the company. They were authorized to hold each year, "four great and general courts on every last Wednesday in Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas terms," and also other needed courts.

As specified in the charter, his Majesty appointed the ensuing officers of the corporation: Mathew Craddock, Governor,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Goffe, Deputy, Sir

<sup>1</sup> The six first were Dorchester patentees, to whom the preceding charter was granted. Their surnames are spelt here as the second charter has them.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Craddock took his oath of office before Charles Cæsar, Master in Chancery, March 18, 1629. There are several notices of him on the Colony Records. One of

Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, John Humfrey, John Endicott, Simon Whetcombe, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, John Brown, George Foxcroft, William Vassall and William Pynchon, Assistants. These authorities were regally empowered to appoint rulers and make laws, consistent with those of the realm, for the colony. They were permitted to admit individuals to be free of the company, who were deemed fit and desired the privilege.

From these particulars, it is perceived, that the charter gives the outlines of legislative rule, adopted by the company in London, delegated to Mr. Endicott and others in the colony, and practiced after the removal of the patent to Massachusetts. It is also observed, that the mode of admitting freemen, or members of such a corporation, and their privilege of voting in general courts, is laid down in the same document. Hence it was, that freemen, denominated the Generality by the London records, and Commons by those kept here, embracing all the voters for legislative authorities, constituted, with other branches of government, the "Great and General Court" or Assembly. This they did till 1634, when deputies became a part of the legislature, and it was ordered, that the whole body of freemen be excused from attending the four annual general courts, except that for election of the Magistrates in May, when they

them dated November 7, 1632, runs thus: "Mr. Mathew Craddock fined *iiii* lb. for his men being absent from training dyvers times." His widow, Rebecca Cra-

dock, was subsequently married to Benjamin Whitecat, D. D. As the liberal promoter of the colony's interests, he left a claim upon it, which in 1648, was £679 6s. 4d.



continued to assemble for such a purpose. This practice remained till 1663, when a vote passed, that the freemen should choose a part of their number to assemble at the court of election and choose a governor and other magistrates. But this change was so unpopular, that it was repealed the subsequent year. The people were apprehensive, lest, by such a restriction, power would pass from the many to the few, so as to endanger their political heritage. The deputies, with other departments of the legislature, have, except in the usurpation of Dudley and Andros, with unessential variation, been called the General Court.

In a charter, with features of this kind, so promotive of rational liberty, when allowed its own legitimate guidance, connected with the influence of Congregational order in church, and untrammelled by the immediate restraints of the crown, we have the substantial pattern of our long continued government. Were the whole community, in the exercise of their constitutional franchise, to resolve themselves into one great generality or commons, and unite with the branches of legislation, except that of the representatives, they would resemble, in principle, an assembly of our ancestors, which in the first years of their incorporation were seen in the capital of England, and in ancient towns of our commonwealth. But it was well, that our fathers, when in the smallness of their population, loaned, for short periods, their power to a few, and vastly better, that their numerous successors have not slighted their example.

As well known, the election day, appointed by the charter and so precious to the colonists as the time for maintaining their privilege of liberty, has been changed,

after long continuance, in our time, and is thus swept away with its associations of the past, which its successor can never wholly revive nor replace in "the city of our solemnities."

Not only did the patent thus favor the corporation politically, but also commercially. It permitted the colonists to be free from all duties to the national exchequer, on their commerce, for seven years, and after this to pay only five per cent. on importations into England for twenty-one years, with proper restrictions. However, Charles I. freely consented to the ecclesiastical policy of his bishops, which bore hard on the emigrants to New England; yet truth requires us to confess, that his release of them, for a considerable period, from taxation and customs to the national treasury, was kind as well as liberal. "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

Another provision, made by the charter in behalf of the company, was, that they should possess and use a common seal. This seal was of silver, and was sent over to Governor Endicott in 1629. It was used by our colonial authorities till 1686, resumed 1689, and suspended from 1692 till 1780. At the last date it was partly revived, as to the Indian, much more civilized in his appearance than his predecessor, and with the adjuncts of an English American's arm,<sup>1</sup> brandishing a sword, and different inscriptions. So resuscitated, it has continued to our day, and we hope will be preserved as long as the liberty of our Commonwealth shall exist. That so valuable a relic of what once denoted the sanction of State

<sup>1</sup> This was part of our Seal from 1775 to 1780.

policy, as under colonial jurisdiction, may be kept in remembrance, the ensuing likeness of it is here presented.



Besides the privileges, which the patent conferred on the corporation, it made certain requisitions of them. It required the fifth part of gold and silver, which might be discovered in the colony, and which was demanded of the council for New England by King James, as well as by this body in the first Massachusetts patent, to be reserved for the crown. But these minerals, so located, have ever since proffered their révenues merely in fancied prospect.

Another condition of the new charter was, that the subjects of England should be allowed to fish on our shores; to set up wharves, stages, and houses, and use needed wood without molestation. This was in conformity to previous and repeated resolutions of the

House of Commons. It seems that such a condition was acted on so as to produce complaint. William Walton and other inhabitants of Marblehead, presented a petition<sup>1</sup> to General Court, in 1646, as follows: "Where as there come yeerly into our plantation many fishermen y<sup>t</sup> are strangers, and haue formerly don vs very much danmage in y<sup>e</sup> consuming of our fire wood, stage timber and flake stuffe." They desired that an order might be established on this subject.

Thus dealing with the company, upon a generous scale, in their political and commercial affairs, the charter rises to the higher and nobler concerns of morality and religion. It enjoined on the patentees, that the planters should be so controlled, "as their good life and orderly conversacon maie wynn and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Sauior of mankind and the Christian sayth." Continuing to speak by the mouth of kingly authority, it adds, "which is our royall intencon and the adventurers' free profession,—is the principall end of this Plantacon." Verily, this is advice worthy of the palace as well as the cottage. Whenever man correctly apprehends and appreciates the wisdom, which so bears the bright and broad seal of divinity, he knows and feels the relations of his being and blessings; he lives up to the purpose of his existence, and to the best interests of his nature. The shame, which scouts appeals to the precepts and principles of piety from the halls of justice and legislation, from the domestic

<sup>1</sup> Date, May 6, found in 1 v. of Maritime, 35 p. Mass. Archives.

altar, the social circle and the intercourse of community, is false, and betokens a moral poison in the soul, which may produce temporary exhilaration, but is followed with irretrievable perdition. It is but a poor compliment which any community or nation pay themselves, in view of what experience has long taught and their own best good demands, when rejoicing that they are so far delivered from the trammels of restraint, as to omit, in their State documents and proceedings, much of the reference made to the Christian religion in laying the foundations of New England.

In passing from the charter, there will be frequent occasion to notice transactions of the Assistant and General Courts, as held in England on various concerns of the colony. Though having an implied application to the whole soil of our Commonwealth, yet these transactions had particular reference to Naumkeag. As giving us, in a business-like style, details of the basis on which the colony began, as to several of its important relations, they deserve to be presented with more than a stinted measure. Especially with regard to the conditions on which the landed interests of the emigrants depended—to the company's commercial investments, and the transfer of the principal patent and government to this country—they will not be too sparingly quoted. Liberty of this kind would have been neither desired nor taken, but for an apprehension, lest a further abridgement of them would mar their signification and make erroneous impressions. It is hoped that the worth of the matter in question, will carry its own recommendation, so as to be a sufficient apology for extending

our subject of settlement further, than would otherwise have been needed or permitted.

#### COURT OF ASSISTANTS IN LONDON.

1629. March 5. Among the members belonging to the Court and now present, were Sir Richard Saltonstall and Capt. Ven.<sup>1</sup> A new proposition from John Oldham was deferred. The nomination of John Washborne for Secretary to the Company, was left undecided. "A proposicon beeing made by Sir William Breuerten to the Gouvernor, of a Pattent graunted him of lands in the Massachusetts bay, by Mr. John Gorges, and that if this companie would make him a promise so as he could (come) to vnderwrite with this company, it might not bee preiudiciall to his pattent, it was resolued this answeere should be geeuen him, namely, that if he pleased to vnderwrite with vs without aney condicons whatsoever, but to come in as all other adventurers doe, he should bee welcome vppon the same condicons that wee haue."

"A proposicon beeing made to intertayne a surgeon for the plantacon, Mr. (John) Pratt was propounded as an abell man vppon theis condicons, namely, That £40 should bee allowed him, viz<sup>t</sup>—for his chist £25, the rest for his own sallery for the first yeere, prouided he continue 3 yeeres, the Companie to bee at charge of transporting his wiffe and (servant), haue £20 a yeere for the other 2 yeeres, and to build him a howse at the Companie's chardge and to allott him 100 acres of ground. But if he stay but one yeere, then the Companie to bee at charge of his

<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.



bringing back for England and he to leaue his seru-  
uant and the chist for the Companie's service."

"Agreed with Robert Morley, seruant to Mr. And-  
drewe Mathewes, late barber surgeon, to serue the  
Companie in Newe England for three yeeres, the first  
yeere to haue 20 nobles, the second yeere                   , the  
third yeere 20 markes, to serve as a barber and a sur-  
geon."

March 5. A committee of the Governor, Deputy,  
and several Assistants, who were to advise with Messrs.  
Graves and Sharpe, were chosen to consider the sub-  
ject of dividing the lands, as proposed the 3d instant,  
and "to sett downe in writinge what course they  
conseaue fytt to bee held herein, whereby an equallety  
may be held to avoyd all contention twixt the aduen-  
turers." "Mr. Thomas Graues was propounded to  
goe ouer with the Shippes nowe bound for Newe  
England, to haue his charges borne out. and home,  
and beeinge a man experienced in Iron Workes, in  
salt workes, in measuring and surveyinge of lands,  
and in fortificacons, in lead, copper and allum mynes,  
as hauinge a chardge of wiffe, 5 children, a man and  
maid seruant, after some conference with him, he  
tendring his implyment to goe and returne with one  
of our shippes to the Companie's discreSSION ffor his  
sallery in that time. It was thought fytt, that he  
should consyder twixt this and to-morrow what to  
demand in case he doe returne presently with the  
shippe he should take his passage in, and what his  
demands would bee if the Companie should con-  
tynene him there and be at chardges of the transporta-  
con. of his wiffe and ffamely thether in their next

shippes, if he take lyking to contyneue in New England." Mr. John Oldham was desired to consider what further he had to offer relative to his proposition of the 2d instant.

March 6. "Agreed with Mr. Thomas Steevens Armorer in Buttolph lane ffor 20 armes, viz<sup>1</sup> corslett,<sup>1</sup> brest, back, culet, gorgett, tasses and hed peece to ech, varnished all black with lethers and buckles at 17<sup>s</sup> ech armour, excepting 4, which are to bee with close hed peeces and theis 4 armours at 24<sup>s</sup> a peece." An agreement was made with John Weste, shoemaker in Marke lane, for 10 dozen of shoes, 8 and 9, at 2/5; 10, 11, 12 and 13, at 2/7 a pair.

March 9. John Washborne was elected Secretary of the Company for one year. A contract was made with John Gace of London for 40 bandeleers,<sup>2</sup> "neates leather, broad girdles ech with 12 charges," at 2/. apiece; and 10 dozen of shovels and spades at 18/. a dozen.

Provision specified for 120 men, 120 fitches of bacon, 120 gallons of sweet oil, 150 quarters of meal, 30 do. of peas at 26/., 15 do. of groats at 4/., fully dried, 20 firkins of butter at 17/., 60 quarters of malt 17/6, 30 cwt. of cheese.

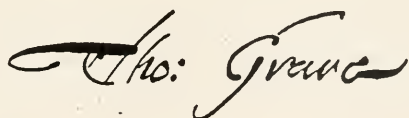
March 10. Thomas Graves, gentleman, who was of Gravesend, in the county of Kent, agreed with the company on what terms he would visit Naumkeag and exercise his scientific qualifications in the colony,

<sup>1</sup> Corslett, to defend the fore part of the body; gorgett, to cover the throat or neck, and tasses for the thighs.

<sup>2</sup> Bandileer, "a large leathern belt, thrown over the right shoul-

der and hanging down under the left arm, for sustaining fire arms and for the carriage of musket charges, which, being put in boxes, were hung to the number of 12 to each bandileer."

as circumstances might require. As additional to the services which he might render and which were specified on the 5th, he was acquainted with finding lime stones, planning aqueducts, drawing maps, and architecture. The terms on which he engaged to exert his utmost ability for the benefit of his employers, were, to have the charges of his outward and homeward passages paid, his diet and £5 a month while employed in New England, if for six or eight months; but in case he should be engaged there three years, the expense of transporting his family thither, their support till harvest after their arrival, a house, 100 acres of land, £50 a year, and a proportion of such land as should be granted to families who were to sail with him, though his own would be left behind for a time—were to be granted him. As to any further compensation he left it to the discretion of the company. As a remnant of his own hand-writing, the subsequent likeness of it, in his name, is here given.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Tho. Graves". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

Samuel Sharpe was allowed, at his particular request, £20 to provide himself with clothes, on account of his salary, as engineer for three years, it being £10 annually. He suggested, that in case of his decease before the close of the period for which money might be advanced him, the sum should be offset by the apparel which it purchased. The question as to division of lands in the colony, was left to the decision

of a committee. A further sum of £20 was paid to John Humphrey towards charges for the patent.

March 12. As persons of note, on account of their ecclesiastical difficulties in the short period they abode at Naumkeag, John Brown, a lawyer, seeming to be of London, and Samuel Brown of Roxwell, in Essex County, agreed to take passage for this country. They were to have lands, as if subscribers for £50 each in the general stock, and to have equal privileges with others. As some memento of them, *fac similes*<sup>1</sup> of their names are subjoined.

*John Brown*  
*Samuell Brown*

March 12. Richard Claydon of Bedfordshire, aged about 34, carpenter, desirous to transport himself, wife, one daughter, his sister, aged 14, brother Barnaby, aged 23, and his brother-in-law, Thomas Hanscombe, for the colony, makes an agreement with the company. He is able to pay £40 towards the expense of such transportation, and the company are to supply the rest on condition that he and his two brothers, after coming hither, shall each have board and 3/. a day until the debt is discharged, and in this time he shall learn any of the company's servants in the trade of a "plow wright." He is also to have land for himself, and his family, as usual for such emigrants. Though Mr. Claydon could not come in the first ves-

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the Colony Records. The termination of the deficiency is supplied by the like which precedes, except the final *e.* surnames is worn away, but the

sels which sailed after his contract, yet he did in one which followed them.

March 16. Messrs. Durbridge and Harret agreed to furnish 14 dozen pair of shoes, from 10 to 13, larger part of neat's leather at 2/7 a pair. Mr. Maio engaged to furnish 20 bed ticks and bolsters of Scotch ticking, 11 yards for a bed and bolster, at 10½<sup>d</sup> per yard. The following estimate was recorded:

" 100 men, there chardge 15 lbs. a man, . . . . .	£1,500
Freight of the Shippe Talbut 5 monthes, 80 lb. pr. mo. . . . .	400
Victuals and wages, 32 men, 70 lb. a monthe, . . . . .	350
The Lyons Whelpe sett to sea, . . . . .	500
20 Cowes and Bulls, 4 lb. a peece, . . . . .	80
10 Mares and Horses, 6 lb. a peece, . . . . .	60
Charges of theis, . . . . .	470
	<u>£3,360"</u>

March 17. A contract was made for 100 swords at 4/6 each, all to have chapes or plates at the points of the scabbards, and for 10 short swords at 2/6 each, and Polonia hilts at 3/4. Purchase was made of 25 more swords. Ralph White agreed to furnish 12 gallons of aquavitæ at 2/6 a gallon. John Gladwing delivered 12 sides of bacon, being 74½ stone, each stone 8 lbs. at 2/5 a stone. It was ordered that payment be made for 110 burrs at 2/. each for making millstones, and 14 cwt. of plaster-of-Paris at 18<sup>d</sup> per cwt.

March 19. Warrants were drawn for payment of 2 coppers, £12 12<sup>s</sup>, and 1 bale of French cloth £18, both for the Lyon's Whelpe; and 30 quarters of malt to go in the ships, £25 15<sup>s</sup>.

March 23. Information was given by letters from Isaac Johnson, "that one Mr. Higgeson of Lester, an

able minister, proffers to goe to our plantation, who being approved for a reverend, grave minister, fitt for our present occations, it was thought by thos present to entreat Mr. John Humfry to ride presently to Lester, and if Mr. Higgeson may conveniently be had to goe this present viouge, that he should deale with him. First, if his remooue from thence may be without scandall to that people, and approved by the consent of some of the best affected amonge them, with the approbation of Mr. Heldersham of Ashely," de la Zouch ; secondly, he may leave his wife and family till Bartholmew, so that they may be better accommodated with a passage, or not, as he prefers ; thirdly, relative to his support, the items of which, as specified under this date, are lost ; but happily they are contained more at large in the subsequent paragraph.

## MR. HIGGINSON'S CONTRACT.

April 8, 1629. A contract<sup>1</sup> was formed between Rev. Francis Higginson and the company. He was allowed £30 to buy apparel and other articles for the voyage, and £10 more for books, a free passage for himself, wife, and children,<sup>2</sup> and furniture. His salary for each of three years, commencing from his arrival at Naumkeag, was to be £30, a house and land, firewood and diet. The dwelling and appurtenances were to be a parsonage for the use of himself and successors in the ministry. At the expiration of three years, he was to have 100 acres of land assigned to him, and of seven years, 100 acres more. Towards the

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson's Collections, p. 24. mentioned, yet they were evidently implied, as included in the

<sup>2</sup> Though his family were not same privilege.



support of his household, he was to have the milk of two cows, and half the increase of their calves; the other half, with the cows, the company were to receive at the end of three years. In case of his decease, his wife while remaining his widow, and his children, if the former and the latter continued in the plantation, were to be supported at the public charge. Should he not like to dwell longer here, than the period agreed on, there was to be no charge for a passage back for himself and family.

Similar contracts<sup>1</sup> were made with Rev. Messrs. Skelton and Bright.

#### REASONS OF MR. HIGGINSON FOR ENCOURAGING THE COLONY.

About the time that Rev. Mr. Higginson engaged to embark for America, he published, "Generall Considerations<sup>2</sup> for the Plantation in New England, with an Answer to several objections." Such sound judgment and elevated motives abound in this production, and so immediate was its reference to Naumkeag, that we cannot refrain from giving its thoughts a place among the memorials of our city. Mr. Higginson's considerations were of the ensuing tenor: First, it would be for the prosperity of the church in general, to have the gospel planted on these shores, and would "raise a bulwarke against the kingdom of Antichrist, which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all places of

<sup>1</sup> Hazard's Collections, v. i, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Hutchinson's Collections, p. 27. The same authority decidedly declares this production to be from the pen of Mr. Higginson, p. 24.

Similar considerations are contained in the Planter's Plea, printed in London, 1630, and in Capt. John Smith's Path-way to erect a Plantation, printed there 1631.

the world." Second, the churches of Europe had been desolated, except that of England, and there was just fear lest this might be similarly judged;—and who could know but that God had provided the colony as "a refuge for many, whom he meanes to save out of the general destruction." Third, England grew weary of her impoverished population; and, sixth, why should they remain and starve, when there was land enough and to spare, in the plantation, for their sustenance. Fourth, "Wee are grown to that excess and intemperance in all excess of riot, as no meane estate almost will suffice to keepe saile with his equals, and he that sayles in it, must live in sorrow and contempt. Hence it comes to passe, that all arts and trades are carried in that deceitful manner and unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good upright man to maintayne his chardge and live comfortably in any of them." Fifth, the literary and theological schools were inordinately expensive and were "perverted, corrupted and utterly overpowered by the multitude of evill examples and licentious governors of those seminaries." Seventh, "What can bee a better worke and more noble and worthy a Christian, than to helpe to raise and support a particular church while it is in its infancy, and to join our forces with such a company of faithfull people, as by a tymely assistance may grow stronger and prosper, and for want of it may be put to great hazzard, if not wholly ruined?" Eighth, "If any such as are known to bee godly, and live in wealth and prosperity here, shall forsake all this to joyn themselves with this church, and runne in hazard with them of hard and meane condition, it will be an example of great use, both for

the removing of scandall and sinister and worldly respects, to give more lyfe to the faith of God's people in their prayers for the plantation, and also to encourage others to joyne the more willingly in it."

From these premises, Mr. Higginson procceds to state objections and answer them.

First, "It will be a great wrong to our owne church and country to take away the best people; and we still lay it more open to the judgments feared.—Reply. But a small proportion of the most exemplary will emigrate. Many of them will have greater opportunities for usefulness in a new settlement, and thus promote the welfare of the church, as a whole. It is the purpose of God to have all nations receive Christianity, and whether the natives in the colony accept it or not, all who proffer it to them discharge their duty and glorify him."

Second. Though we have long feared judgments, yet we are safe. It is better to remain till they come, and then we may flee, or, if overtaken by them, we should "be content to suffer with such a church as ours."—Reply. "It is likely that this consideration made the churches beyond the seas, as the Palatinate, Rochel, etc., to sit still at home, and not look out for shelter while they might have found it; but the wofull spectacle of their ruine may teach us more wisdom to avoid the plague while it is foreseene, and not tarry as they did till it overtooke them. If they were now at their former liberty, wee may be sure they would take other courses for their safety. And though most of them had miscarried in their escape, yet it had not been halfe so miserable to themselves, or scandalous to religion, as this desperate backsliding and abjuring

the truth, which many of the antient professors among them, and the whole posterity that remayne are plunged into."

Third. "Wee have here a fruitfull land, with peace and plenty of all things."—Reply. "Wee are like to have as good conditions there in tyme; but yet we must leave all this abundance, if it bee not taken from us. When we are in our graves, it will be all one whether we have lived in plenty or penury, whether we have dyed in a bed of downe or lockes of straw. Onely this is the advantage of the meane condition, that it is a more freedom to dye. And the lesse comfort any have in the things of this world, the more liberty they have to lay up treasure in heaven."

Fourth. "Wee may perish by the way or when we come there, having hunger or the sword, etc.; and how uncomfortable will it be to see our wives and children and friends come to such miserie by our occasion?"—Reply. "Such objections savour too much of the flesh. Who can secure himselfe or his from the like calamities here? If this course be warrantable, we may trust God's providence for these things. Either he will keepe those evils from us, or will dispose them for our good and enable us to beare them."

Fifth. "But what warrant have we to take that land, which is and hath been of long tyme possessed of others, the sons of Adam?"—Reply. "That which is common to all is proper to none. This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property; for they inclose no ground, neither have they cattell to maintayne it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail

against their neighbours. And why may not Christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods, leaving them such places as they have manured for their corne, as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites? For God hath given to the sons of men a twofold right to the earth; there is a naturall right and a civil right. The first right was naturall when men held the earth in common, every man sowing and feeding where he pleased. Then, as men and cattell increased, they appropriated some parcells of ground by enclosing and peculiar manurance, and this, in tyme, got them a civill right. Such was the right which Ephron, the Hittite, had to the field of Machpelah, wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corpse without leave, though for the outer parts of the countrey, which lay common, he dwelt upon them and tooke fruite of them at his pleasure." There is more land than is sufficient for both the Indians and colonists. A plague has swept off most of the natives. The survivors of them welcome settlers to their soil.—This question about occupying the land of the aborigines was the subsequent occasion of much controversy, through Roger Williams, both at Plymouth and Salem. It was one which received much deliberation from the original proprietors and colonists of New England. Whatever may have been thought, said, or written of them, on this subject, they were evidently disposed, as before stated, and even anxious to satisfy every fair claim of the Indians for the territory which they settled.

Sixth. "We should send our young ones and such as can best be spared, and not the best of our ministers and magistrates."—Reply. "It is a great worke

and requires more skilfull artificers to lay the foundation of a new building, than to uphold and repayre one that is already built. If great things be attempted by weake instruments, the effect will be answerable."

Seventh. "Wee see that those plantations, that have been formerly made, succeeded ill."—Reply. "The fruit of any public designe is not to be discerned by the immediate success. It may appear in tyme, that they were all to good use. There were great fundamental errors in others, which are like to be avoided in this;—for their mayne end and purpose was carnall and not religious; they aymed chiefly at profit and not at the propagation of religion; they used too unfitt instruments, a multitude of rude and ungoverned persons, the very scums of the land; they did not stablish a right forme of government." This closing answer is one of the clear evidences, which prove, that the great aim in peopling Massachusetts, was, like that as to Plymouth, the spread of "pure religion."

The head which dictated and the heart that felt the preceding opinions and sentiments, were of no ordinary texture. Indeed, for the occupancy of this soil, Mr. Higginson gave ingenious and forcible reasons. It required great physical strength to cast down the pillars of Dagon's temple; but a greater moral energy to surmount the impediments cast in the way of our pilgrim ancestors, when tearing themselves from home and kindred, to embark for the inhospitable coast of a distant and unsubdued wilderness.

#### EMIGRANTS AND SUPPLIES.

April 16. According to the Lord Treasurer's warrant, 60 married and unmarried females, 26 children



and 300 men with supplies of food, arms, clothing, tools and 140 head of cattle, are permitted to be embarked<sup>1</sup> for Massachusetts colony.

#### LETTER FROM THE COMPANY TO MR. ENDICOTT.

April 17. A letter,<sup>2</sup> dated at Gravesend, is written by the Governor and Deputy of the company in England to Mr. Endicott. It relates to him what was like glad tidings from a far country, that there was an increased purpose to sustain the plantation. It gives information of the charter's being confirmed, and that a duplicate of it, with the royal seal, was about to be sent over by Mr. Sharpe.

The writers of this epistle and their associates, were fully aware, that every human enterprise, uninfluenced by religion, would soon fall to the ground. They well knew that, let temporal prosperity be ever so great for a season, still, if destitute of divine influence, it would draw in its train abounding corruptions and become an instrument of ruin to its possessors. Thus properly impressed, they sought for men worthy to bear the ark of God. Their choice fell on the Rev. Messrs. Francis Higginson, of Leicester; Samuel Skelton, of Lincolnshire, and Francis Bright. These were among the Calvinistic clergymen of England, who were reduced by its laws, while they lived in the kingdom, to the hard alternative, either to withhold some of their opinions and read in time of public worship the Book of Sports, which encouraged an open profanation of the Sabbath; or submit to prosecutions, fines, imprisonment, and deposition from the

<sup>1</sup> Prince's New England, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Suffolk Deeds, Liber 1.

ministry. With the way for a satisfactory discharge of their duty so hedged up, and with a sphere of usefulness opened for them, where spiritual freedom was proffered, they felt obligated to turn from the one and move in the other. In reference to them, the preceding letter holds the subsequent language: "And for that the propagating of the Gosple, is the Thing wee doe profess aboue all to bee our ayme in setting this Plantacon. Wee haue bin carefull to make plentyfull provision of godly ministers, by whose faithfull preaching, godly conversacon and exemplary lyfe, wee trust not only those of our owne nation wilbe built vp in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians may, in God's appointed tyme, bee reduced to the obedyence of the Gosple of Christ;—one of them is well knowne to yourselfe, viz: Mr. Skelton, whom wee haue the rather desired to beare a part in this worke, for that wee are informed your selfe hath formerly received much good by his ministry; he cometh in the George Bonaventure, Mr. Thomas Cox. Another is Mr. Higgeson, a graue man, and of worthy commendacons; hee cometh in the Talbot. The third is Mr. Bright, sometymes trained vpp vnder Mr. Davenport, who cometh in the Lyon's Whelp. We pray you accomodate them all with necessaryes as well as you may; and in conveyent time lett there bee houses built them according to the agreement wee haue made with them." The letter proceeds to remark, that there is prospect of harmony among these ministers, which will be promoted by impartiality towards them and all others; that the manner of their preaching to the colonists and Indians, is left to their

own discretion ; and that for their labors to be appreciated, they must be duly honored.

It informs Mr. Endicott, that a government, called "the <sup>1</sup> Council of the Massachusetts Bay," had been appointed to reside in the colony, of which he was the head. The particulars of this information <sup>2</sup> are under a subsequent record of General Court, in London, the 30th instant. The letter—having ordered that, if Roger Conant and his associates declined being represented in this council, this body might supply their own vacancies, so caused—uses expressions, which denote that a part of the first settlers here considered themselves as injured, by having the colony taken from their immediate control. The language on this topic follows: "And that it may appeare as well to all the worlde as to the old planters themselues, that wee seke not to make them slaues, as it seems by your letter some of them thinke themselves to bee become by meanes of our patent, wee are content they shalbe partakers of such priviledges, as wee, from his Majesty's espetiall grace, with great cost, fauor of personages of note, and much labor, haue obtained ; and that they shalbe incorporated into this Socyetie, and enioy not only those lands, which formerly they haue manured, but such a further proporcon" as the civil authorities think best. "Besides, it is still our purpose, that they should haue some benefitt by the common stock, as was by your first commission directed, with this addicon, that if it

<sup>1</sup> This title is more brief than the one under April 30th. the colony, had been elected before the 30th of April, and as

<sup>2</sup> It seems from the above letter, early as the 17th.

bee held too much to take 30 per cent. and the freight of the goods, for and in consideracon of our adventure and disbursement of our moneyes, to bee paid in Bevor at 6<sup>s</sup> per lb., that you moderate the said rate,"—as equity requires. "Our further order is, that none bee partakers of any of the aforesaid priuiledges and profitts but such as bee peaceable men, and of honest lyfe and conversacon, and desirous to liue amongst vs, and conforme themselues to good order and government." Thus careful to give the old planters the respect and favor which their seniority, as to the first occupancy of the soil, seemed to require, the letter desires Mr. Endicott to grant them further indulgence in the cultivation of tobacco. At the same time, it forbids all others here to raise this article; to sell or use it, "vnless vpon vrgent occasion, for the benefitt of health, and taken privately." It also states that there is very little profit to be gained by the exportation of such a commodity to England. As much excitement had been sustained in that kingdom for a series of years, concerning tobacco, by Sir Walter Raleigh's first introduction of it into polite circles, and especially by the proclamations, excises and phillipics of King James against it, as contained in his Counter Blast, there is no great matter for surprise, that the company should feel and say so much on such a subject. Would it not be well, if more antipathy of this kind had come down to our day, and infused its influence into every walk of life?

The letter informs Mr. Endicott, that John Oldham had made various proposals to be connected with the company in speculations of trade, but that they avoided an acceptance of them; and that he was fit-

ting out a vessel to come and take possession of the territory in Massachusetts, conveyed to him by John, brother of Robert Gorges. Of this claim, the authorities in London say, "which wee are well satisfyed, by good Councell, is voyde in lawe." Still they had strong apprehensions, lest he should draw disaffected colonists to his side and form a settlement within their bounds, independent of their jurisdiction. Hence, they were solicitous that Mr. Endicott should contract with Mr. Conant and his associates to have neither part nor lot in the projects of Oldham. They proposed, that, if nothing less than severe measures would arrest the progress of this individual, they should be adopted; though anxious to avoid any collision with him, "wishing rather there might be such an vnion as might drawe the Heathen by our good example to the embracing of Christ in his Gosples." They desired Mr. Endicott, that, as soon as emigrants, about to embark, should arrive here, he would dispatch forty or fifty of them to take possession of the soil on which Oldham had fixed his eye. They also requested him to encourage such planters as were already there, so that they might wish to be under his authority; and even, if requisite for this end, to allow them "more than ordinarie preiudges in point of trade."

The letter notices Ralph Smith, a minister, as having engaged a passage hither, before he was known to differ in some points from the three other clergymen in the same fleet. It represents him as honest in his creed, and hopes that he will be no occasion of discord; but if he should be, leave may be granted him to depart. From what is here suggested of Mr.

Smith,<sup>1</sup> and from his being employed by the Plymouth church soon after his coming over, he appears to have been more Congregational in his views of ecclesiastical polity than Mr. Cradock and other members of the government at home, and this was probably the source of their objection to him.

The letter alludes to a request made by Governor Endicott for the assistance of Frenchmen to make salt and plant vineyards. It says, that, however none of such a nation could be obtained, Mr. Thomas Graves,<sup>2</sup> amply qualified for services of this sort, had been engaged to reside in the colony. Besides the scientific attainments of Mr. Graves, as specified in his contract,<sup>3</sup> the letter observes of him: "he hath bin a traveller in divers forraigne parts to gain his experience." The same epistle desires Mr. Endicott to consult this gentlemen, in these words: "Wee pray you take his advise touching the premises, and where you intend to sett down in, to fortyfic and build a Towne, that it may bee qualified for good ayer and water, according to your first instruccons, and may haue as much naturall helpe as may bee, whereby it may with the less labor and cost bee made fitt to resist an enemie." This passage, taken in connection with the facts, that Governor Endicott, under his first commission retained the emigrants at Naumkeag, and fortified it under his second, shows that it was the purpose of his heart to make this place the capital of the colony.

<sup>1</sup> After preaching at Plymouth several years, he did the same at Manchester; was at the former place in 1641; had sold his house and land there to John Dow, before September 27, 1642, when it was conveyed to Rev. John

Reyner. He died in Boston, March 1, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Groves in I. B. of Suffolk Deeds.

<sup>3</sup> Made with the Court of Assistants.



The letter promises, that an account of names and land for each of the settlers in the first allotment, should be forwarded to him. It asks him to accommodate servants and cattle, about to sail, either at "Nahum-keeke or in the Mattachusetts Bay, or in both places." It recommends part of such persons and stock to his care, as belonging to Sir Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Isaac Johnson. It desires attention to the interests of "Matthew Cradock, who with some particuler brethren of our company, haue deeply engaged themselves in their private adventures in these shippes and those to come ; and as wee hold these men, that thus deeply adventure in their private to bee, vnder God, spetiall instruments for the advancing and strengthening of our Plantacon, which is done by them without any charge to the Company's generall stock, wherein notwithstanding they are as deepe or deeper engaged then any other, soe being contented to bee debarred from all private trading in Furr for 3 yeares."

It mentions, that the common seal is to be sent over by Mr. Sharpe. It observes, that if swine are needed in the plantation, six of them may be had of New Plymouth for £9, towards what they owe Mr. Goffe ; and that 42 goats will be immediately shipped for Naumkeag.

As to various articles, previously ordered by the council in London, the letter furnishes the ensuing extract : "Wee haue followed your advice and sent most of our guns, snaphance, bastard muskett bore ; and wee haue also sent store of powder and shott ; grayne for seede, both wheat, barley and rye in the chaff, etc. As for fruit stones and kernells, the tyme of the

year fitts not to send them now, soe wee purpose to doe it per our next. Tame turkyes shalbe now sent you if may bee, if not, per other shippes." It adds, "Wee are disappointed of the provisions ordered to haue bin sent you for yourselfe and Mrs. Endecott, but God willing, they shall come by the next."

It orders, that every individual who sells arms and ammunition to the Indians, and teaches them how to use these things, shall be sent to England for punishment according to the regal proclamation. It cautions Mr. Endicott, as he had been previously, against excessive reliance on the good faith of the natives. It proposes to him, that, as a defence against foreign and domestic foes, the colonists have set days for military discipline, and that he may expect aid, in this concern, from Messrs. Graves and Sharpe. Of the last, it remarks: "Mr. Sharpe is by vs entertained to bee Mr. Gunner of our ordnance, in which service he is to employ soe much of his tyme as the charge of that office doth require; and in the rest, hee is to follow other employments of our governors and others, for whose employment hee is particularly sent over."

It states, that a memorandum of the provisions, shipped for this place, and of the emigrants' names, employed by the company, would be forwarded with them. Of the people, thus coming to our shores, it speaks—"Amongest which wee hope you will fynde many religious, discreete and well-ordered persons, which you must sett over the rest, devyding them into famylies, placing some with the ministers, and others vnder such as beeing honest men, and of their owne calling as neere as may bee, may haue care to see them well educated in their generall callings as

Christians, and particuler according to their severall trades, or fitness in disposicon to learne a trade." It allows, that if any of the inhabitants here transgress, they shall be punished; and if irreclaimable, be sent home, with certificates of their mal-conduct, as a terror to others.

It gives special caution against injury's being done to the natives, and advises Governor Endicott to publish a proclamation of this import, with the common seal impressed on it, and posted up "in some eminent place for all to take notice." To avoid mischief by too great intimacy with the Indians, it orders "that they bee not permitted to come to your Plantacon, but at certaine tymes and places." As expressive of honest purpose towards these natives, it observes: "If any of the Saluages pretend right of inheritence to all or any part of the lands, graunted in our Pattent, wee pray you endeavour to purchase their tytle, that we may avoyde the least scruple of intrusion."

It desires the council, that in case any theological controversies should arise here, to "suppress them, and bee carefull to maintain peace and vnitie." It proposes, with regard to having either Mr. Bright, or Higginson, or Skelton, preach at Charlestown, that, if they fail to agree on this subject, it shall be decided by lot, and whoever is selected shall dwell there with his family.

It commissions Messrs. Skelton and Samuel Sharpe, in case they found Governor Endicott dead, on their arrival at Naumkeag, or if he should die before all the vessels reached here, to take the lead of the council and rule according to order.

It recommends several of the emigrants to the au-

thorities of the plantation. Of Lawrence Leech it says, "a carefull and painfull man, lett him haue deserving respect;" of Richard Waterman, with like approbation, "whose chiefe employment wilbe to gett you good venison." It mentions six shipwrights, "of whom Robert Molton is chiefe," to be paid two thirds by the general company and one third by Mr. Cradock, and employed for them in similar proportions; and Richard Ewstead, a wheelwright, approved by Mr. Davenport as "a very able man," engaged to the same parties on like conditions; and William Ryall and Thomas Brand, coopers and cleavers of timber, to be compensated one half by each of these concerns, and to labor for them accordingly. The last mechanics are required to get staves, etc., in readiness for part of return cargoes. One Norton, a carpenter, is named among these emigrants, for a kind reception.

The letter specifies horses, mares, cows, bulls and goats, shipped by Mr. Cradock, and to be divided into two equal parts after their arrival, one for him and the other for the company. It expresses the hope, that Governor Endicott had exchanged the goods he took out with him, for beaver, otter, and other furs, and that these, with other suitable lading, may be dispatched in the Talbot, which was at £150 charges a month.

It requests that fishermen—of whom six, from Dorchester, are coming over—may, with part of the crews, take fish, and that this be cured in hogsheads or otherwise, with salt on board of the Whelp and Talbot, and sent home in either of these vessels. It permits that the Whelp, being owned by the company, may

be detained a while, if she can be profitably employed. It relates, that the George Bonaventure is to land her passengers and goods, and immediately sail for Newfoundland.

The letter shows the care of the authorities in London, that the colony should have further medical assistance. It gives their language on this point: "Wee haue entertained Lambert Wilson, chirurgion, to remaine with you in the service of the Plantacon, with whom wee are agreed, that hee shall serve this companie and the other planters, that live in the Plantacon for three yeares, and in that tyme apply himselfe to cure, not only of such as came from hence for the generall and particuler accompts, but also for the Indians, as from tyme to tyme he shall be directed" by the council. "Moreover, he is to educate and to instruct in his art one or more youths, such as you and the said Councell shall appoint, that may bee helpfull to him, and if occasion serve, succeed him in the Plantacon, which youth or youths fitt to learne that profession, lett bee placed with him, of which Mr. Huggeson's sonne, if his father approne thereof, may bee one, the rather because he hath bin trayned vp in litterature; but if not hee, then such other as you shall iudg most fitt."

The letter manifests that the company were fully aware, that the great interests of society depended much on a dutiful observance of the Lord's day. It thus recites their words: "To the end the Saboth may bee celebrated in a religious manner, wee appoint that all that inhabite the Plantacon, both for the generall and particuler employments, may surcease their labor every Satterday throughout the yeare, at 3 of

the clock in the afternoone, and that they spend the rest of that day in catichising and preparacon for the Saboth, as the ministers shall direct." This order furnishes a striking and ominous contrast to the present general practice.

April 21. To the letter of the 17th, the Governor and Deputy appended another to Mr. Endicott. The former, with the charter and the company's seal, was committed to the care of Samuel Sharpe, on board of the George Bonaventure, which was supposed to be still riding at anchor for a fair wind. As to the charter, there is a very good likeness of it in the collections of the Salem Athenæum. It has the remains of the party-colored cord, which once held the royal seal. It has no record of Governor Cradock's official oath, as there is on the charter in our State archives. It appears to have been the document, sent over to Mr. Endicott by order of the Company's Court in London. It now reposes in the very settlement, where it was once the magna charta, on which the council of Naumkeag made their laws and grounded their authority.

The last communication observes: "Wee haue devyded the servants; belonging to the company, into seuerall famylies, as wee desire and intend they should liue togeather, a cobby whereof wee send you here inclosed, that you may accordingly appoint each man his charge and dutie." The accomplishment of this order was left to the discretion of Mr. Endicott. In this connection, it is perceived how deeply the company were impressed with the established truth, that as the discipline and morals of families, so the elevation or depression of the community, state, or nation,



which they constitute. Their language follows: "Our earnest desire is, that you take special care in settling these families, that the chiefe in the familie, at least some of them, bee grounded in Religion, whereby morning and evening familie duties may bee duly performed, and a watchfull eye held over all in each familie, by one or more in each family to bee appointed thereto; that soe disorders may bee prevented, and ill weeds nipt before they take too great a head. It wilbe a business worthy your best endeavors to looke vnto this in the beginninge."

They advise, that if any in their employment are idle and disobedient, they must be chastised, adding "that correccion is ordained for the fooles back, as necessary as food and rayment." It is plain, that they were among the class of ancient disciplinarians, who could scarcely be convinced that reason and persuasion were enough for the reformation of the spoiled and dissolute. They duly appreciated the beneficial effects of industry, and thus urged it for the colonists: "Wee hartely pray you, that all bee kept to labor, as the only meanes to reduce them to civill, yea, a godly life, and to keepe youth from falling into many enormities, which by nature wee are all too much enclyned vnto."

Towards the close of their epistle, they introduce John and Samuel Brown, of the emigrants, as "brethren of our company, who though they bee noe adventurers in the generall stocke, yett are they men wee doe much respect, being fully perswaded of their sincere affeccions to the good of our Plantacon; the one Mr. John Browne is sworne an assistant here, and by vs chosen one of the Councell there—a man experi-

enced in the lawes of our kingdom, and such an one as wee are perswaded will worthylie deserue your favor and furtherance, which wee desire he may haue, and that in the first deuision of lands there may be allotted to ether of them 200 acres." Thus these gentlemen left for the new world, under favorable auspices. But discrepancy of views, as to ecclesiastical forms, was soon to cause their compulsory return. The bow of morning often terminates in the storm of evening.

The letter is closed by one, probably Governor Cradock, with particulars of Messrs. John Oldham and John Dorrell's patent from Mr. Gorges. He relates, that this grant extended five miles up Charles river, N. W. from the border of Massachusetts bay, and three miles up Abousett river, from its mouth, and contained all between such lines of these two rivers, with reserves of royal mines and 12<sup>d</sup> on every 100 acres of occupied land, and that William Blackstone and William Jeffries were empowered to grant the premises to Mr. Oldham on his showing them the charter. The writer again authorizes Mr. Endicott to take possession of this territory, as a means of excluding Oldham.

Among the passengers<sup>1</sup> in the Talbot, were some of Mr. Robinson's people, from Leyden. Their emigration to Plymouth, had been prevented by former members of the company, in England, for that plantation.

#### GENERAL COURT IN LONDON.

April 30. They order<sup>2</sup> "that thirteene of such as

<sup>1</sup> Shirley's letter. Mass. His. Coll. s. 1. v. iii. p. 65. <sup>2</sup> Col. Rec.

shalbe reputed the most wyse, honest, expert and discreete persons resident vpon the said Plantacon shall haue the sole managing and ordering of the gouernment and our affaires there, who to the best of their judgments are to endeavour soe to settle the same, as may make most to the glory of God, the furtherance and advancement of this hopeful Plantacon, the comfort, encouragement and future benefitt of vs and others, the beginners and prosecutors of this, soe laudable a worke. The said thirteene persons soe appointed, to bee entytled by the name of the Gouernor and Councill of London's Plantacon in the Mattachusetts Bay in New England. And having taken into due consideracon the meritt, worth and good desert of Capt. John Endecott, and others lately gone over from hence with purpose to resyde and continue there, wee haue with full consent and authoritie of this Court and by ereccon of hands, chosen and elected the said Capt. John Endecott to the place of present Gouvernor in our said Plantacon." They also chose Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, Francis Bright, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Graves and Samuel Sharpe, for seven of his council. To these, power was delegated to choose three other counsellors, and to the old planters for electing two more. On this subject the General Court remarked: "That the former Planters there may haue noe iust occasion of excepcon, as being excluded out of the priueleges of the Company, this Court are content and doe order by ereccon of hands, that such of the said former Planters, as are willing to liue within the lymitts of our Plantacon, shalbe enabled and hereby authorized to make choice of 2 such, as they

shall thinke fitt to supply and make vpp the number of 12 of the said Councell, one of which 12 is, by the Gouverner and Councell, or the maior parte of them, to bee chosen deputie to the Gouvernor for the tyme beinge." The government of the colony, or greater part of them, were authorized to choose a Secretary and other needful officers. Each of them was to take an oath "in a publique Court, and not elsewhere," for being faithful in his station, when elected or admitted to office. They were to continue a year, or till others were appointed. The whole, or greater part of them, were empowered to fill vacancies in their body, occasioned by death, incompetency, or immorality. The Governor, or, in his absence, the Deputy might call courts at pleasure, who, or a majority thereof, among whom the Governor or Deputy must be always one, had power to enact laws not opposed to those of England, and punish offenders according to their deserts. The court here were required to furnish the court in England with copies of their transactions. Such was the model of a government which was located at Naumkeag, and which the best friends of this place earnestly wished might be long continued within its limits.

The court in London ordered that a copy of their acts, under this date, in relation to the settling of government in Massachusetts, with an impression of the Company's seal and signed by the Governor and Deputy, should be sent hither immediately. Messrs. Walgrave, Pelham, Humphrey and Nowell, were desired to draw up the form of an oath for Governor Endicott, his Deputy and Assistants.

## COURT OF ASSISTANTS IN LONDON.

May 7. Of their number, at this session, was Thomas Pulyston.

The forms of oaths for Governor Endicott and his council, were ordered to be sent to them. These forms, with those for other officers of the government here, made the ensuing requisitions for substance. The Governor's oath,—that he should be loyal to the king, faithful to the company, and to the laws, "made by y<sup>e</sup> authority of y<sup>e</sup> Assistants and Generalitye," and punish "transgressors and brekers of y<sup>e</sup> same" with impartiality.

The Deputy's was similar, with the addition of pledging aid to the Governor.

The Assistants'—that they should give their "best advice for supportinge y<sup>e</sup> Common Welthe,"—allow none "to be admitted into y<sup>e</sup> freedom of this fellowshipe contrarye to the true meaninge of the Charter."

The Treasurer's—that he should honestly discharge the evident duties of his trust.

The Secretary's—that he should be "obeydient, diligent and attendant to Mr. Gouvernor and y<sup>e</sup> Deputye and Companye; faithfully set doune, wright and register in the Companye's book y<sup>e</sup> acts, ordinances and constitutions of the said Fellowshipe; not give out any coppie of the same actes without y<sup>e</sup> consent of a Courte of Assistants; keepe secret all matters, talke or conference, the disclosing whereof may bee preiudiciall to the Companye," and give notice of all he knows, who attempt to injure the "Fellowshippe."

The Beadle's—that he should "warne the Companye to come to Courtes and Congregations to be appoynted

by the Gouvernor or his Deputye, as often and when willed and required " by these officers ; "suffer no hurts to the Company ; stand or be within the hearinge of y<sup>e</sup> said Companye when they are sett at any theire Courtes, nor come in before called for by the Gouvernor or his Deputye."

Letters were ordered for Governor Endicott about allotments of land for adventurers in the common stock ; a mill for Francis Webb ; and punishing such as sold guns.

May 11. At a Court of Assistants, Hugh Peters was present. "This daye Mr. Ouldum propounded vnto Mr. White, that he would have his Patten examined, and its agreed by the Courte not to haue any treatye with him about it, by resone its thought, he doth it not out of loue but out of some synister respect."

A Warrant was delivered unto Mr. Seale for 10 dozen and 2 hats,<sup>1</sup> at 2/ pr dozen.

#### MR. ENDICOTTS LETTER TO MR. BRADFORD.

Having medically administered to the wants of the colonists, for a few months, Dr. Fuller returned to Plymouth, with the elevated enjoyment which benevolent action always affords.

May 11. By him Mr. Endicott wrote to Governor Bradford. In this epistle, the former exhibits the expanded views and feelings ever legitimately flowing from Christian principle. He speaks of the union in sympathy, motive and action, which should be cherished by disciples of the same Divine Master. He

<sup>1</sup> Though this price may seem incredible, it is so recorded.



mentions the necessity of this, in order to establish a religious commonwealth. To this import he remarks, "bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him, that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways." He expresses gratitude to Mr. Bradford for promoting the visit of Dr. Fuller to Naumkeag. He touches, with prudence, on the needless jealousy which had existed between the respective friends of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, in reference to ecclesiastical discipline. Here, it may not be inapposite to observe, that the latter Associates suspected the people of Plymouth as leaning too much to Brownism, though in fact they had learned, under the judicious Robinson, to embrace and practice Congregational order. Such a suspicion explains why Mr. Lyford and his followers, when expelled from the jurisdiction of Gov. Bradford, were offered an asylum at Cape Ann and then at Naumkeag. In the same letter, Mr. Endicott also refers to the time of his own religious reformation. 'The instrument of such an alteration—the most important man can ever experience—was the Rev. Samuel Skelton, to whom he was ardently attached, and whose society he was soon to enjoy.

#### GENERAL COURT IN LONDON.

May 13. The following persons were chosen<sup>1</sup> members of the Court in London, "by the consent of the generality of y<sup>e</sup> Company:" Matthew Cradock, Governor, and Thomas Goffe, Deputy. Of the

<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.

18 Assistants named in the charter, 16 were confirmed, and instead of the other two, John Endicott and John Brown, "beeinge out of the land," John Pocock and Christopher Cowlson were elected. William Burges was chosen Secretary,<sup>1</sup> George Harwood, Treasurer, and Humphrey Seale, Beadle.

May 13.. "Ordered, that whensoever any Court of Assistants shalbe summoned, whosoever of the Assistants comes not, twixt 25 March and 29 of September, before eight of y<sup>e</sup> clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning, and from 29 September to 25 March, before 9 of y<sup>e</sup> clock in y<sup>e</sup> morning, shall forfeit twelue pence for euery such offence; and if he comes not within towe houers after either of the said houers respectyvely, then towe shillings for euery default, ech man to forfeit and pay, and for want of payment within . daies after demand made by the officer, to the Company, the fyne double to bee sett vpon his accounte." "It is also agreed,<sup>2</sup> that for aney y<sup>t</sup> shall haue pryuat conference after y<sup>e</sup> Court is summoned by the Gouvernor or his Deputy, knocking of the hammer thrice on the table, to sitt downe and attend y<sup>e</sup> Court, that six pence by euery person for euery such offence shalbe payd."

#### COURT OF ASSISTANTS IN LONDON.

May 18. Messrs. Humphrey and Adams were authorized to obtain supplies for being forwarded to Mr. Endicott and his family. "The names of all the adventurers to bee sent over, with the seuerall somes by them vnderwritten." "It is ordered, that the Gouvernor and Councell there shall haue power to

<sup>1</sup> The Secretary's salary was 20 marks.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is obscure in the original as well as here.

allott vnto every particuler adventurer, that shall desire the same by himselfe or his assigness, 200 acres of land vpon the some of £50 adventure in the generall stock in the first dividend, and proportionally for more or less according to their severall adventures."

May 19. Concerning this subject, "it is thought fitt that letters bee writt to the Gouvernor to sett out and allott vnto them after the proporcon of 200 acres of land ffor £50 adventure, and after y<sup>e</sup> rate for more or less; to build their houses and to improoue there labors thereon; and if within 10 dayes after their arrivall and demand made, the same be not soe allotted, that each man being an adventurer, is heereby permitted ffree liberty to build in aney plase where himselfe shall thinke most convenient, with reseruacon not to build or manure that alredy built on or manured, provided y<sup>e</sup> if the plott of ground whereon the Towne is intended to bee built bee sett out, y<sup>e</sup> it bee publikeley knowne to bee intended for that purpose, that then noe man shall presume to build his howse aney where else, (vnless it bee in the Massachusetts Bay,<sup>1</sup> and there according to such directions as shalbe thowght meete for that plase,) but in case his allotment be not sett out within the Towne where he shall build, and hauing in his owne name, or in the behalfe of his master, made request to the Gouvernor to haue the same assyned to him, if it bee not done within 10 daies after his arryuall, it shalbee free ffor aney in such case, being an adventurer in the common stock, to build his howse within the foresaid plott of ground, sett out for the Towne to bee built

<sup>1</sup> Massachusetts Bay was then accounted so as not to include territory northwardly from Boston.

on, and to impale to his owne vsse proporconable to halffe an acre of ground for £50 aduenter in y<sup>e</sup> common stock, vnless a greter or lesse proporcon be formerley determynd of by the Gouvernor and Counsell; in which case that proporcon is to bee made vse of and appropriated to ech man within y<sup>e</sup> liberties of y<sup>e</sup> plott, sett out ffor the Towne to bee built on, and it is ordered, that Conueyance bee made in the Companies name, with the common seale of the Companie to it, to aney y<sup>t</sup> shall desire it, for ech man's peasable inioying of y<sup>t</sup> land he holds, at the chardge of the Companie." "It is further thought fitt and ordered, that all such persons as goe over at their owne charge and are aduenturers in the common stock, shall haue lands allotted to them for themselues and their families forthwith 50 acres of land for each person; but being noe aduenturers in the common stock, shall haue 50 acres of land for the Mr. of the familie, and such a proporcon of land more, if there bee cause, as according to their charge and qualitie, the Gouvernor and Councell of New England shall thinke necessary for them, wherby their charge may bee fully and amply supported, vvhless it bee to any, with whom the Company in London shall make any other particuler agreement, to which relacon is to bee had in such case. And for such as transport servants, land shalbe allotted for each servant, 50 acres to the Mr., which land the Mr. is to dispose of at his discesion; in regard the servant's transportacon, wages, etc., are at the Mr.'s charge."

May 21. A committee were to consult "Mr. White, the Cuncellor to bee satisfied concerning the administering of othes to the Gouvernor and Cuncell in

New England." They made the subsequent addition to the order of the 18th of May, about allotment of land: "If within 10 dayes after arrivall of these shippes, and demand made by any person, adventurer in the common stock, or his or their servant, of their allotment of land, the same not being done, that then each person be permitted to seate himselfe in a conveyent place, not formerly built nor manured, and build his house and inclose the same to his or their vse, not exceeding the one halfe of that proportion, which by the former order of this Court is allowed and when the devydent is made, to bee free to make his choice within the said allotment, if hee dislike what hee had formerly chosen." It was ordered, that the Company's seal shall be kept by the Governor of the plantation, and, in his absence, by the Deputy. A committee were empowered to prepare letters and the orders for establishing government and allotting lands in the colony, signed by the Governor, Deputy, and six Assistants, with the Company's seal affixed, so that they may be sent over in the ships, ready to depart.

#### LETTER FROM THE COMPANY TO GOV. ENDICOTT.

May 28. Another valuable letter<sup>1</sup> is dated in London from the Company's Court to Mr. Endicott. It repeats the desire to him, that an edict, with penalty, might be passed and published, in manuscript, here, against injury to the natives. It informs him, that the election of himself, as Governor of the plantation, and

<sup>1</sup> Suffolk Deeds, Book 1. Not 28th. Its last date is June 3, at a few parts of this letter were Gravesend.  
written continuously after the

of his council, had, since the Company's last communication to him, been established by a full court; that forms of appropriate oaths, for such colonial authorities, were now forwarded to them, who were empowered to compose suitable oaths for their Secretary and other officers. It mentions, that a list of adventurers and the sums of their subscription, and of their servants, and other emigrants, already sailed at their own charge, is now sent, and orders that lots of land be allowed to them, according to an act of the court at home, impressed with their seal. It says, that copies of agreements with servants and others, embarked in the three last vessels, accompany the present epistle, and desires Governor Endicott to keep a register of all persons, who have or may come to the colony, as to their names, quality and age. Precious indeed would such documents as this be, for throwing light on the biography of many individuals, who visited our goodly city in its earliest being. But they have long since disappeared with all the papers of Governor Endicott's first administration. Unless discovered in the plantation office of London, or some such depository there, scarce a possibility exists that they will ever greet the vision of Naumkeag's descendants.

The letter proceeds to specify the ships, on the point of sailing for the plantation: the Mayflower, of Yarmouth; the Four Sisters and the Pilgrim, both of London—the first commanded by William Pierce, the second by Roger Harman, and the third by William Wolridge. It repeats the injunction to Mr. Endicott, that he, with advice of his council, make a fair settlement with the natives for their claim upon the terri-



tory. It calls for semi-annual reports of daily labor performed by every individual of each family. As expressive of the Company's purpose to carry out their system of colonial discipline, it remarks: "For the better governing and ordering of our people, espetiallie such as shalbe negligent and remiss in performance of their dutyes, or otherwise exorbitant, our desire is, that a house of correcon bee erected and set vpp, both for the punishment of such offenders, and to deterr others by their example from such irregular courses."

The letter commends Richard Claydon,<sup>1</sup> wheelwright, Richard Haward and Richard Inkersall. These two had families, and were from Bedfordshire, as well as the former. Proposal was made that Mr. Claydon teach his art to some of the plantation, and that his brother, Barnaby, work for Mr. Sharpe, as agent of Mr. Cradock. The last gentleman had engaged two gardeners to come over, and he offered that one of them should assist the colonists.

The letter makes request for the Rev. Mr. White, that attention may be shown to a number of passengers in the Lyon's Whelp, from the counties of Dorset and Somerset; that William Dodge, a skilful husbandman, may have the "charge of a team of horses;" that Hugh Tillie and William Eedes may serve Sir Richard Saltonstall; that Francis Webb may have encouragement in setting up a mill; and that all persons, sent over by the same clergyman, may be in the employment of the Company. It states, that the expense of fitting out the three last ships, was assessed,

<sup>1</sup> See his contract of March 12, 1629, wherein he was denominated a carpenter.

one half on the general stock of the Company, and the other part on the private stock of Governor Cradock and his associates; and that whatever stores remained after the discharge of these vessels at Naumkeag, they were to be accordingly divided, and that the proportion of the private stock be handed over to Mr. Sharpe as the agent. It gives information, that two thirds of articles for ship-building in the plantation belonged to the Company, and the rest to Mr. Cradock and partners, and that the charges for George Farr, a shipwright, now coming over, are to be alike borne by the same concerns; desires, that a storehouse may be erected for the shipwrights, of whom Robert Moulton was principal; that they may be assisted by other colonists; that, as soon as three shallops are finished, they be owned by the preceding bodies, be equipped and perform voyages on their account in the proportions just specified. It says, in the language of the Court, "as our Gouvernor<sup>1</sup> hath engaged himselfe beyond all expectacon in this business, not only in his particuler, but by great sommes disbursed for the generall, to supply the wants thereof; soe our desire is, that you endeavor to giue all furtherance and friendly accommodacon to his agents and servants." Such is the representation of one, who stands among the foremost promoters of Naumkeag's settlement and advancement.

In reference to cattle,<sup>2</sup> now and previously shipped, one half on account of this benefactor and the other for the Company, it proposes a division of them after their arrival by Messrs. Endicott and Sharpe, but, if

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Cradock. <sup>2</sup> Including the horse as well as horned kind.

the latter be absent or sick, Henry Haughton is to take his place.

The same communication renews the topic about *tobacco*. "As in our former, soe now againe wee espetially desire you to take care, that noe Tobacco bee planted by any of the new planters vnder your government, vnless it bee some small quantitie for meere necessitie, and for phisick for preseruacon of their healths, and that the same bee taken privately by auncient men and none other; and to make a generall restraint thereof, as much as in you is, by perswading the old planters to employ themselues in other business, according to our example, and not to permitt that any Tobacco bee laden there vpon our shippes." Could the givers of this injunction have looked down to our day, they would not only have been greeted by coöperation, but also perceived that medical practice, for the most part, excluded such a vegetable from its pharmacopœia, as pernicious rather than beneficial to health.

The letter mentions that, for carrying on the fishery, as additional to the six on board the *Lyon's Whelp*, three<sup>1</sup> more are now sent by Mr. Cradock and associates, who are answerable for a third of their charge and are to receive a like ratio of their gains, and the Company the remainder of their cost and profit. It estimates the expense for freight, wages, and stores of the three ships ready to sail, £2,400; that this is far greater than what they can make on their outward voyage, and asks that, to lessen such difference, due

<sup>1</sup> Two of these three were dismissed before sailing, because they were discovered to be immoral men.

care may be taken in sending-back fish and other articles, with all possible dispatch. It enumerates quantities of salt, with lines, hooks, knives, boots and barrells, for the fishery, as shipped in these vessels. It leaves the fishermen to be employed either "in harbour or vpon the banke," as may seem best, and refers to Capt. William Pierce for advice in the matter, as he had been acquainted with the places. It adds, "if you send the shipps to fish at the Banck, and expect them not to returne again to the Plantacon, that then you send our Barke, that is already built in the country, to bring back our fishermen and such provisions as they had for fishing." We perceive from this, that a vessel had been built, most probably at Naumkeag, and that the *Desire*, afterwards launched<sup>1</sup> at Marblehead, was not the first vessel built in the colony, as some have supposed. It is very likely that Robert Moulton and company erected many a serviceable craft for its watery element, before the timber of the one, just named, was even levelled in the forest.

The letter requests Mr. Endicott, that besides the building of a storehouse for the shipwrights, there may be another for the fishermen. It commends to him Thomas Beard, a shoemaker, and Isaac Rickman, who are each to be maintained at the public charge for £10 a year, and to be under his guidance for their place of employment. It states, that Beard had hides in the *Mayflower* for the manufacture of boots and shoes, and was to pay, for the freight of them, in the ratio of £4 a ton. It goes on to observe: "Wee desire also the said Thomas Beard may have 50 acres

<sup>1</sup> In 1636.

of land allotted to him, as one that transports himselfe at his owne charge, but as well for him as all others, that shall haue land allotted to them in that kinde, and are noe adventurers in the common stock, which is to support the charge of fortificacons, as also for the ministrie and diuers other affaires,—wee hold it fitt, that these kinde of men, as also such as shall come to inheritt lands by their seruice, should by way of acknowledgment to such, from whom they receive these lands, become lyable to the performance of some seruice certaine days in the yeare, and by that seruice they and their posteritie after them, to hold and inherite these lands, which wilbe a good meanes to enioy their lands from being held in capite, and to support the Plantacon in generall and particular.” How long this order was complied with, is not left on record. Its execution, which called for a part of the colonists to be employed at certain times, as the tenure of holding their fields and farms, which thus showed, that they were not of the number who derived their landed possessions from the head, or king, by a law, abolished under Charles II. must have produced distinctions in community, which would be strange to our observation and experience.

Still uttering the fulness of their heart, the Court, at home, renew their caution against idleness as a bane of society. “Wee may not omitt out of zeal for the generall good, once more to putt you in mynde to bee uery circumspect in the infancie of the Plantacon, to settle some good order, whereby all persons, resident vpon our Plantacon, may apply themselues to one calling or other, and noe idle drone be permitted to liue among vs; which if you take care now at the



first to establish, wilbe an undoubted meanes, through God's assistance, to prevent a world of disorders, and many greuous sinns and sinners."

: While solicitous to promote industry, they were equally so to have justice executed upon transgressors. On this subject they say: "Wee hartely pray you to admitt of all complaints that shalbe made to you, or any of you, that are of the Councell, bee the complaint never soe meane, and pass it not sleightly over, but seriously examine the truth of the business." Our early records of a judicial character, closely adhered to such advice. Hence the charge, not unfrequently made against our ancestors, for being excessively particular. Still, however they had faults like the worthiest of their kind, they well knew, that omission to notice small offences, leads to the commission of great crimes; that, as the barriers against vice are lopped away, so those which remain are more easily borne down.

Intent upon having the plantation rest on the basis of strict moral principles, far better than the mines of Potosi, the Company proffer another request: "Wee pray you make some good lawes for the punishment of swearers, whervnto it is to bee feared too many are adicted that are servants sent over formerly and now." They urge compliance with this, as a means of securing the divine benediction. As evidence, that they sincerely preferred godliness to gain in the affairs of the colony, they remark: "Wee haue discharged diuers servants heere, that wee had entertained and bin at great charges with some of them; yett fearing their ill lyfe might bee preiudiciall to the Plantacon, wee rather thought fitt to dismiss them



and loose our charges; then to burden the Plantacon with them." While careful to crush the first risings of iniquity among the colonists, the Company seem not to have understood the true method to prevent and eradicate intemperance. They went with the great mass of the world, in supposing, that strong drink was so needed to sustain man in his toils and cure him in his sickness, it might innocently be distributed among any portion of their race. Not unlike a person, who should scatter firebrands amid goodly habitations, and cautiously surround them with apparatus to preserve such of them as the flames had not too far devoured. On this point, let the Company speak for themselves: "Wee pray you endeavor, though there bee much strong waters sent for sale, yett soe to order it as that the saluages may not for our lucre sake bee induced to excessive vse, or rather abuse of it; and at any hand take care our people giue noe ill example; and if any shall exceede in that inordinate kinde of drinking as to become drunck, wee hope you will take care his punishment bee made exemplary for all others. Lett the lawes be first published to forbidd these disorders, and all others you feare may growe vp, whereby they may not pretend ignorance of the one, nor priuiledg to offend, and then feare not to putt good lawes, made vpon good ground and warrant, in due execucon." The spirit, which dictated this passage, would probably have induced its possessors, if living at this day, to renounce their error and take rank among the foremost in the reform, which has broken asunder many bonds of inebriation.

The foregoing communication was directed to "Captain Jo: Endecott Esquire, Gouvernor," and others of his council. This address is thus particularly quoted in order to notice an error of rank. Various authorities have placed Mr. Winthrop, as first in the series of chief magistrates for our commonwealth. But the same body, who conferred on him this station, did no less previously for Mr. Endicott. Besides, the latter was alike empowered by the Dorchester patentees, before the former had any connection with the settlement of this soil. The rule, which required John Carver to be accounted Governor of Plymouth colony prior to William Bradford, gives Mr. Endicott similar precedency to Mr. Winthrop. The quotation just made from the Company's letter, shows, that they who elected both of these gentlemen, had no doubt but that such order of rank should be observed. True, these worthies, conversant with realities far above those of earth, cherish no anxious thoughts on this question.<sup>1</sup> Still, mistakes in the record of their temporal honors should be corrected and stand out on the page of history.

Of the emigrants, on board the Mayflower, were a number of the Leyden congregation, formerly under Mr. Robinson, bound for New Plymouth. They<sup>2</sup> had been delayed, like others in the Talbot, in such a voyage, by unfriendly adventurers in London, who controlled the affairs of that colony.

Before taking our leave of the Company's two let-

<sup>1</sup> As Cape Ann is in what has been long called Massachusetts, and Roger Conant was Governor for the Dorchester merchants there, he may be truly said to have preceded both Messrs. Endicott and Winthrop in such office for a part of this commonwealth.

<sup>2</sup> Shirley's letter. Mass. His. Coll. s. 1. v. iii. p. 65.

ters of April 17th and May 28th, it may be remarked, that they have been largely drawn on, as to the morals of the colony. This has been done, in part, to present the foundation, on which the heritage of our pilgrim fathers rested. If the survey taken of it lead their descendants to examine and perform the needful repairs, it will be neither unpleasant nor unprofitable to them.

## GENERAL COURT IN LONDON.

June 11. An order<sup>1</sup> passed that, for considering demands against the Company, the whole of them "bee summoned by ticketts" to meet the 17th inst.

June 17, Wednesday, at the Deputy's house. A note was returned concerning Leicester men. For the purpose of raising £1,500 to meet demands on the Company, continued partly by the slack payment of some subscribers, it was proposed for the prompt members to increase their former subscriptions, and for the corporation to borrow money on interest.

*"Names of those in Court that underwritt to lend."*

" Sir R. Saltonstall, . . .	£100	Mr. Clarke, . . . . .	£25
Matthew Cradock, Gov. . .	150	Simon Whetcomb, . . . .	25
Thomas Goffe, Dep. . . .	50	Thomas Hutchins, . . . .	25
Richard Perrie, . . . . .	25	Edward Cooke, . . . . .	50
Thomas Addams, . . . . .	50	Daniel Ballard, . . . . .	25
Increase Noell, . . . . .	25	Edmund Whyte, . . . . .	20
George Harwood, . . . . .	50	Joseph Carou, <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	25
Richard Whyte, . . . . .	25	Thomas Andrewes, . . . .	25
Samuel Aldersey, . . . .	50		£220
	£525		525
			£745 "

<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.<sup>2</sup> It may be Caron.

Auditors of accounts were appointed. Among a committee, for reducing previous orders into method, was Mr. Darby. These orders were "to bee entered into a faire booke to bee kept for that purpose, according to the vsage and custome of other companies."

#### MEETING OF PLANTERS AT SALEM.

Soon after Mr. Higginson's arrival, Governor Endicott issued warrants<sup>1</sup> to all, within his jurisdiction, to appear at a session of the Council in Salem. The object was, for the old and new planters to sign certain laws for the regulation of the colony. These rules were based on the general position, that all questions, relative to political or ecclesiastical order, should be decided according to the word of God. Thomas Morton, from Mount Wollaston, says, that he was present and refused to subscribe, because the Council declined to adopt his proposal of obedience to their acts, so far as in conformity with the statutes of England. He relates, that, on the same occasion, the colonists, except himself, formed a company for the beaver trade, and agreed to share the profits, if any; at the close of a year, according to what each adventured in the general stock. He informs us, that this speculation was not profitable, while his own gain in such a trade was "sixe or seaven for one." Having thus kept himself aloof from the authorities, it was not long before they commissioned some persons to visit his residence and endeavor to break up his quarters there. Hearing of their approach in a shallop, he secreted his ammunition and other articles in the

<sup>1</sup> *New English Canaan in Force's Tracts*, v. ii. p. 105.

woods. They took what goods were left, principally corn, and brought them to Salem, as sequestered property. Still Morton refused submission. But no distant arrest awaited him. He supposed himself called to contend for civil and religious liberty, and was therefore ready, on every occasion, to run a tilt with the powers of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Thus impressed, he cherished an insatiable purpose of retribution upon them. But his experience, like that of all similarly impelled, taught him, when too late, that such a spirit, however sweet at first to a perverted taste, turns upon itself with tenfold evil.

#### EMIGRATION TO CHARLESTOWN.

Near this time Mr. Graves,<sup>1</sup> and a considerable number of the late emigrants, go to strengthen the settlement of Charlestown, and thus throw greater impediments in the way of its being occupied and retained by Mr. Oldham. Here he soon had call for his talents as an architect and surveyor.

July 20. In order to secure a primary object of their emigration, our fathers began to take measures for the regular establishment of a church and ministry among them. Without these, though an Eden of natural advantages might have smiled on them, they would have felt spiritually impoverished and fearfully expected a blast on all their purposes and efforts. At this date, Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor and Mr. Higginson teacher, and they were consecrated to their respective offices. Brethren were also nominated for a ruling elder and deacons, but were not ordained.

<sup>1</sup> Charlestown Records.

Of such services<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles Gott gave a graphic description to Governor Bradford.

Having perceived that Messrs. Skelton and Higginson did not "use the book of common prayer," and were otherwise disposed to non-conformity, Messrs. Browns and others, about this time, set up<sup>2</sup> an Episcopal church.

#### HIGGINSON'S JOURNAL.

July 24. The Rev. Francis Higginson dates the journal<sup>3</sup> of his passage to Naumkeag,—for sending it to many of his friends in England, who had desired him thus to gratify their wishes. It has the ensuing introduction: "The Company of New England, consisting of many worthy gentlemen in the city of London, Dorchester, and other places, ayming at the glory of God, the propagation of the Gospell of Christ, the conversion of the Indians, and the enlargement of the King's Majesty's dominions in America, and being authorised by his royal letters patents for that end, at their very great costs and charges, furnished 5 ships to go to New England, for the further settling of the English plantation, that they had already begun there." Though these are ideas before presented, yet, as containing a compend of the agents, means and ends in the promotion of the colony, we thought them worth the repetition.

Mr. Higginson gives an account of the ships. The Talbot<sup>4</sup> of 300 tons, 19 guns and 30 men. She

<sup>1</sup> For a more particular account of doings now and on Aug. 6, see Ecclesiastical. Bradford's Letter Book. Mass. His. Coll. s. 1. v. iii. p. 67, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Morton's Memorial, p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Hutchinson's Collections, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Commanded by Thomas Beecher.



"carried about 100 planters, 6 goates, 5 great pieces of ordinance, with meale, oatemeale, pease, and all manner of munition of provision for the plantation for a twelve monthe."

The cannon on freight for a fort here, and to be under the care of Samuel Sharpe, as engineer, were very probably soon placed in some fortification. Papers of the Lynde family mention a fort, as having been in "Arbor Lot," on or about the premises of the Methodist meeting-house,<sup>1</sup> and built nearly as far back as 1633, and called the first fort of Salem. But, from the fact, that heavy cannon for a fort and a cannoneer were transported hither in 1629, and the expressed desire of the Company in England to have the plantation well defended against enemies, both inland and foreign, may not the conclusion be fairly drawn, that the fort, on "Arbor Lot," unless it was there before 1633, was not the first built by the colonists? Wood's *New England Prospect*<sup>2</sup> seems to settle the question. He sailed for England August 15, 1633. Before this he wrote for his book, that the winter harbor of Salem "lyeth within Derbies Fort." Thus he mentioned this place of defence, not as a thing of the passing year, but well known as of longer continuance. It is very likely, that one was erected as soon as 1629, and was the Darby<sup>3</sup> fort on Marblehead side, a part of Salem till 1649, though long supposed to have been on Beverly shore. Still from the cause, which the colonists had to fear the Tarrentines, as well as other Indians, it is to be ration-

<sup>1</sup> On Sewall street.

<sup>2</sup> Page 43.

<sup>3</sup> A Mr. Darby is mentioned in

the Company's records as one of their members, in 1629.

ally supposed, that Mr. Conant and his followers built an inland fortification on their first occupation of Naumkeag, and that it was continued by Mr. Endicott. If so, such a place of defence may have been, from its favorable location there, the identical one on Arbor Lot, and that instead of its erection being set at 1633 it should have been about 1626.

But Mr. Higginson's narrative calls us from this digression. It mentions the other vessels in the following course: The George,<sup>1</sup> of 300 tons, 20 guns, and about 30 men. "Her chiefe carriage were cattell, 12 mares, 30 kyne and some goates, 52 planters and other provision." The Lyon's Whelpe,<sup>2</sup> of 120 tons, 8 guns, "carrying many mariners and about 40 planters, specially from Dorchester and places thereabouts, with provision and 4 goats." Four Sisters, of about 300 tons, "carried many cattell, with passengers and provisions." The Mayflower, freighted with emigrants and supplies. Mr. Higginson relates, that there was special reason for the George's sailing before the rest. It is not unlikely, that this reason was, in part, to notify Mr. Endicott of Oldham's intention to occupy a section of Massachusetts, and advise him to make immediate settlement of the tract so claimed.

Mr. Higginson narrates, that the Talbot sailed from Gravesend 25th of April, and had reached no further than Cowes 5th of May. Here, he says, "I and my wiffe and my daughter Mary, and 2 maids and some others with us, obtained of the master of the ship to go a shoare and refresh us, and to wash our linnens." On the 6th, "betyme in the morning, the shaloep

<sup>1</sup> Called also George Bonaventure, Capt. Thomas Cox.

<sup>2</sup> Capt. John Gibbs.

was sent from the ship to fetch us to Yarmouth," being eight miles from Cowes; "but the water proved rough, and our women desired to be sett on shoare 3 miles short of Yarmouth, and so went on foote by land and lodged at Yarmouth that night." Here they were detained. On the 10th, being Sabbath, "we kept the ship, where I preached in the morning; and in the afternoone was intreated to preach at Yarmouth, where Mr. Meare and Captain Borley entertained us very kyndly, and earnestly desired to be satisfied of our safe arrivall in New England, and of the state of the country." The next day, the Talbot, accompanied by the Lyon's Whelp, sailed with a fair wind. On the 12th, "we came as farre as the land's end, and so left our deare native soyle of England behind us." Hard must have been the parting. But while the Pilgrim endures the pang of separation,—God speed thee—as the voice of his faith—sooths his heart and renews his hopes, illimitably higher than the topmost wave of ocean, than the loftiest mountain of earth.

Having had worship on the Sabbath of the 17th, as usual, Mr. Higginson relates,—that two of his children, Samuel and Mary, were taken sick with the "small pocks and purples together, which was brought into the ship by one Mr. Browne, who was sicke of the same at Graves-end, whom it pleased God to make the first occasion of bringing that contagious sickness among us, wherewith many were after afflicted." On the 19th, his daughter Mary, died, an event of grief to her parents, and "terroure to all the rest, as being the beginning of a contagious disease

and mortality." On Thursday, 21st, in view of their afflictions, a season of fasting and humiliation was observed. Messrs. Higginson and Smith performed the services. The former notes, "I heard some of the mariners say, they thought this was the first sea-fast that ever was kept, and that they never heard of the like performed at sea before." Tuesday, June 2d,—as the ship was delayed by contrary winds,—some of the men sick with the scurvy and others with the small pox,—another like occasion was solemnly kept. With the varied interest, arising from first impressions of ocean scenes, made on a mind of disciplined taste, Mr. Higginson notices the appearance of hostile vessels—the whale, and other tenants of the deep—storms—floating ice—bank fogs—death of a profane sailor—of another child as well as his own—sea funerals, and the exhilarating sight of land. He remarks, "We received instruction and delight in beholding the wonders of the Lord in the deepe waters."

On the 26th, he writes:—"By noon we were within 3 leagues of Capan, and as we sayled along the coasts, we saw every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shoare, the more flowers in abundance, sometymes scattered abroad, sometymes joyned in sheets 9 or 10 yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadowes by the tyde. Now what with fine woods and greene trees by land and these yellow flowers paynting the sea, made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signals of fertilitie afarre off." Thus, having his imagination all lighted

up with early summer's beautiful scenery, he and his companions were to experience a bitter, though short disappointment. Having neared the entrance of the harbor, it was night, and they tacked for sea room. About 4 o'clock, next afternoon, they reached the place which they left the evening before, and, on the point of entering the desired haven, a squall, accompanied with rain, thunder and lightning, drove them back. Fearing to try the passage into Naumkeag, as night drew on, they put into Cape Ann. The following day, being the 28th, and the Sabbath, was religiously kept there. As Mr. Endicott saw the colors of the Talbot on Saturday, he then sent a shallop with two men to pilot her. But as these were blown out with her, they attended worship at the Cape. By their aid, Mr. Higginson observes, and "God's blessing, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large spacious harbour of Naimkecke. And as we passed along, it was wonderful to behold so many islands replenished with thicke wood and high trees and many fayre greene pastures." He states that the George arrived seven days before them. He proceeds,—“We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts, that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey. The next morning, 30th, the Governour came aboard and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wiffe to come on shoare and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly.”

In one of his reflections on the voyage, he gives this paragraph :—“We had a pious and Christian-like passage ; for I suppose passengers shall seldom find a company of more religious, honest and kynd seamen

than we had. We constantly served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnly kept by adding to the former, preaching twice and catechising. Besides, the ship master and his company used every night to sett their 8 and 12 o'clock watches with singing a psalme and prayer, that was not read out of a booke."

Thus terminates a journal, which deserves a distinguished rank among the records, that perpetuate the acts of our primitive clergy,—who, like Apostles, made great sacrifices to spread the doctrines and benefits of Christianity. The same exhibitions of moral beauty and sublimity in the character of Paul and his coadjutors, are manifested in the principles and deeds of those, who first ministered at the altars of New England. When all the splendid creations of perverted public opinion shall have passed away, the monuments of real excellence, erected by these consecrated leaders of the church, shall stand with indestructible strength and abounding brightness,—as spectacles of admiration to the moral universe.

#### HIGGINSON'S LETTER.

From a letter<sup>1</sup> of Mr. Higginson to his friends in Leicester, we have the following items. Notice had been sent to Governor Endicott by sixty families in "Dorsettershire," that they intended to sail next spring, with their ministers, for the colony, and they desired him "to appoint them places of habitations." "Many families are expected out of Lincolnshire and

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson's Collections, p. 47. Sent about July 24, 1629.



a minister with them, and a great company of godly Christians out of London." Those, intending to come from Leicester, are advised to do it soon, lest they lose the opportunity by delay, and because the first comers "speed best and have the priviledge of choosing places" of residence. The rich would do a good work to send over poor families to the plantation, "where they may live as well both for soule and body as any where in the world." "Mr. Johnson out of Lincolnshire and many others have helped our godly Christians hither to be employed in their worke for a while, and then to live of themselves." There are forty goats, as many cows, six or seven mares, and one horse in the place. More of these animals are daily expected. They who emigrate are requested to bring as many of them and also of sheep, as possible. Carpenters are much needed. As transportation is high, being £5 an adult, £10 a horse, and £3 a ton of goods,—it would be judicious economy for the richer emigrants to purchase a ship for the accommodation of themselves and the rest. Some of the colonists had been mistaken in supposing, that when they put money into the common stock, they were entitled individually to a house, besides a portion of land. It is necessary for those, who purpose to make their home here, to come with provisions for a year,—“till they can gett increase of corne by their owne labor.” Such should bring “woolen and linnen cloath, and leather for shoes, and all manner of carpenters tooles, and a good deale of iron and steele, to make nailes, and lockes for houses and furniture, for ploughs and carts, and glasse for windowes, and many

other things, which were better for you to think of there than to want them here." As an indication how abundant a species of fish, before named, were,—which are now seldom seen in our waters,—Mr. Higginson says, "Whilst I was writing this letter my wiffe brought me word, that the fishers had caught 1600 basse at one draught, which if they were in England were worth many a pound." It is documents, like the preceding, which exhibit the incipient character of society in some of its most impressive features. They give us no ordinary lessons of diminished reliance on the factitious distinctions of prolonged success and luxury,—on noble birth without desert,—on fortune without justice and generosity,—on elevation without merit; and of enlarged confidence in the sterner energies,—the higher aspirations and efforts,—and the more exalted virtues,—when community begins its career, puts forth its utmost strength to sustain its tottering interests, and holds its course onward to a prosperous issue. They command the emphatic responses of consent to the mutual dependance of our race,—to the folly of turning away with scorn from any useful portion of them, and to the sacred obligation of imitating the benevolence of Heaven, as emblazoned on the face of nature and on the pages of revelation,—in all our deportment towards the human family.

#### HIGGINSON'S NEW ENGLAND PLANTATION.

As another contribution of friendship, made for the information and pleasure of many in England, deeply interested in the welfare of him and of the Plantation,

Mr. Higginson gives them an account<sup>1</sup> of, its soil, climate, location, productions, natives, and condition. While he describes the colony in terms, corresponding with his attachment for it, as the home of his adoption and the object of his ardent hopes,—he does not fail to be impartial in the confession of its disadvantages. Though some, induced by his representations, to emigrate hither, complained, that they could not find so many favorable realities, as he believed that he had,—still the integrity of his reputation forbids the suspicion, that his motives were in the least deceitful. On this very subject, he remarks, “The idle proverbe is, *travellers may lye by authorte*. Yet I may say of my selfe, as once Nehemiah did in another case, *shall such a man as I lye?*” This account says,—“We are setting a brick-kill on worke to make bricke and tiles for the building of our houses.” It mentions, that the soil is exceedingly fertile and produces abundant crops of hay, corn, vegetables, and fruits. This is as would be expected from land, that had not been exhausted by agriculture, but continually enriched by the decay of its own growth. The account relates, “Excellent vines are here up and downe in the woods. Our Governour hath already planted a Vineyard with great hope of encrease.” Much expectation of profit from the raising of our grapes, was indulged both here and in England. But they disappointed those, who made an experiment upon them. The description, after designating fruit and forest trees, proceeds. “For beasts there are some beares, and they say some lyons; for they have been seen at

<sup>1</sup> Called New England's Plantation, printed in Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 1, v. 1, p. 117.

Cape Anne. Here are several sorts of deere. Also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great-wild cats, and a great beast, called a molke, as bigge as an oxen." Mr. Higginson has been charged with excessive credulity for supposing, that lions had been discovered in this climate. But it was not strange, that he, recently come to the country, told that it contained such animals; and not had time to examine for himself, should place a degree of confidence in the report. It is by no means improbable, that his mind was influenced by authorities,<sup>1</sup> like that of the noted traveller, Capt. Smith,—who, on his map, representing Massachusetts, as he knew and supposed it was in 1614, gives an impression of the same creature. It is likely, that the molke is what is commonly called a moose. When the Zoölogist compares the animals designated by Mr. Higginson, with those of the present day for the same region, he readily perceives, that no small part of them have disappeared before the spread of population.

The account goes on,—“The abundance of sea fish are almost beyond beleaving. I saw store of whales, and crampusse, and such abundance of mackerils; that it would astonish one to behold, likewise codfish in abundance on the coast. There is a fish called a basse. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together. Wee take plentie of scate and thornbacks, and abundance of lobsters, herring, turbut, sturgeon, cuskies, hadocks, mullets, eeles, crabbes, muskles, and oysters.” We perceive from this list, that the quantity of all fish in our waters, has con-

<sup>1</sup> Wood, Josselyn, and Johnson, mention Lions as among the animals of New England.

siderably diminished, as would be naturally supposed, and that some species of them are very scarce, if not entirely disappeared. Mr. Higginson's description states, that wild turkies and geese were plentiful as well as pigeons, ducks, and other fowl. "A great part of winter, the planters have eaten nothing but roast meate of divers fowles, which they have killed." Among the comforts of a cold winter, it specifies a liberal supply of wood for the poor as well as rich. "All Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England." Speaking of lights, it remarks,—“Although New England have no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine trees, that are most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles, which are very usefull in a house. And they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven in two little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch, that they burne as cleere as a torch. I have sent you some of them, that you may see the experience of them.” Though this present was undoubtedly welcomed as a memorial of friendship, and a curiosity to denote the custom of an uncivilized people, yet neither the giver nor receivers imagined, that it would win its way to the parlors of wealth and taste, and extinguish the more costly lights of fashion.

Among objections to an abode here, the narrative speaks of the winters, as more severe than in England,—of the troublesome musquetoe, the poisonous rattlesnake,—and the want of more emigrants of good



character, accompanied with horses, kine, and sheep, to improve the land. With regard to the last item, it says,—“Great pittie it is to see so much good ground for corne and for grasse, as any is under the heavens, to ly altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in Old England, through the populousnesse thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other.” It states, that the health of Mr. Higginson—quite infirm before he came hither—was much improved. Therefore, it recommends the temperature of the country; “for a sup of New England’s aire is better than a whole draught of Old England’s ale.”

1629. July 24. Relative to the present condition<sup>1</sup> of Salem, the same production<sup>2</sup> furnishes the succeeding quotations. “When we came first to Naimkecke, now called Salem, we found about half a score houses built; and a fayre house newly built for the governor, and we found also abundance of corne planted by them, excellent good and well liking.” According to the deposition of Richard Brackenbury,<sup>3</sup> the mansion, here spoken of, was made from materials of another, first erected at Cape Ann, under the Dorchester Associates. It probably served for the residence of Roger Conant, while Governor of that Plantation. Part of its timber is said to be contained in the dwelling, formerly a tavern, on the corner of Court and Church streets. The account continues,—“We brought with us about 200 passengers and planters more, which now by common consent of all the ould planters, are all now combyned together into one body politique

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to be about July 24.

<sup>2</sup> Of Beverly, Æ. 80 in 1680-1.

<sup>3</sup> Also in Hutchinsons’s Collections, p. 46.



under the same governor." Here is an allusion to a schism, which threatened to arrest the progress of the Colony, and which existed between the Conant and the Endicott settlers. The first appear to have disliked subjection to the Massachusetts Company, though several patentees of this body had belonged to the Dorchester Corporation. Hence, when Mr. Endicott arrived, there was want of harmony in opinion and action between the old and new colonists. But through a judicious compliance with the Company's instructions, he was enabled to restore unanimity. One great inducement for effecting this reconciliation, was to counteract the plan of Oldham, who had been a fellow sufferer with Conant at New Plymouth.

The description proceeds,—“There are with us in all, old and new planters 300, whereof 200 are settled at Naimkecke, and the rest plant themselves at Massachusetts bay, being to build a towne there called Charleston or Charlestowne. We that are settled at Salem, make what haste we can to build, so that within a short tyme, we shall have a fayre towne.” It is observable, that Mr. Higginson refers to Charlestown and its immediate vicinity as within Massachusetts Bay, while Salem and its neighborhood were excluded from such a circuit. This accorded with former views and conversation, though contrary to subsequent and present impressions. Not aware of such a fact, some have had their thoughts occasionally confused in perusing the early records of our Commonwealth. The narrative adds,—“We haue great ordnance, whereof we doubt not but to fortifye our-

selves in short tyme, to keepe out a potent adversarye."

Rising above the temporal prospect of the planters,—however one, on which he loved to look,—the writer comes to his still more favorite theme of spiritual concerns. "But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defence above all others, is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God amongst us. Thanks be to God, we have plenty of preaching and diligent catechising, with strict and carefull exercise of good and commendable orders to bring our people to Christian conversation; which whilst we do, we doubt not but God will be with us; and so Rom. 8, 31, what shall we then say to these things; if God be with us, who can be against us?" Such a conclusion is what would be expected from one, who had drank deeply of 'Siloa's Brook'—who had well scanned the immutable conditions, on which society can be prospered and immortality be blessed.

GENERAL COURT, OF THE ASSISTANTS AND GENERALITY, AT THE DEPUTY'S HOUSE IN LONDON.

July 28. Governor Cradock motioned<sup>1</sup> that the ship Eagle, of 400 tons and "of good force," should be purchased for the use of the Company. As the funds of the Corporation were low, individuals, as follow, agreed to take the most of her.

Matthew Cradock,	1-8	Mr. Revell,	1-16
Thomas Goffe,	1-16	Samuel Aldersey,	1-16
Thomas Adams,	1-8	Mr. Milburne,	1-8
Nathaniel Wright,	1-8	Thomas Hewson,	1-16
Theophilus Eaton,	1-16	The Company,	1-8
Symon Whetcomb,	1-16		

<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.

The Governor also proposed that the Company employ other ships, offered by their members, "of less defence for transport of their cattle and other commodities soe long as they shalbe willing to furnish such shippinge."

"A letter of the 27th of May from Mr. John Endicott was now read, wherein, amongst other things, hee complaines of the prophane and dissolute living of divers of our nation, former traders to those parts, and of their irregular trading with the Indians, contrary to his late Majesty's proclamacon, desiring that the Company would take the same into their serious consideracon, and to vse some speedy means here for reformacon therof, whervpon the Proclamacon, made in anno 1622, was read, and it is thought fitt, that suite bee made to his Majesty or the Lords for renewing therof with addicon of such benefitall clauses, as shalbe needfull for reforming so great and vnsufferable abuses, and Mr. Gouvernor, Mr. Aldersey, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Eaton are desired to repaire to the lo. Keep<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Secretary Coke to acquaint their Honors herewith, and afterwards a peticon to bee presented to the Councell Board accordingly." John Betts, saying that "hee is able to discouer divers things for the advancement of the Plantacon,"—a French physician—"well qualified, of godly lyfe and conversacon, who is desirous to goe ouer,"—and "one Mr. Gardner, an able and expert man in divers facultyes,"—were named as candidates for employment in the Colony. It was "ordered, that letters bee written to those in the country to pay

<sup>1</sup> Probably means Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

in what they are behinde vpon their subscripcions, and that some tradesmen, heere in London, that haue occasion to trauell into any of those parts bee desired to receive the money on the Company's behalfe."

"Mr. Gouvernor read certaine proposicons conceived by himself, viz: That for the advancement of the Plantacon, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and qualitie to transplant themselves and famylies thether, and for other weighty reasons therin contained, to transfer the Gouvernment of the Plantacon to those, that shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordinacon to the Company heere, as now it is. This business occasioned some debate, but by reason of the many great and considerable consiquences therevpon depending, it was not now resolued vpon, but those present are desired privately and seriously to consider hereof and to sett downe their particuler reasons in wryting pro and contra, and to produce the same at the next Generall Court, where they, being reduced to heads and maturely considered of, the Company may then proceede to a fynall resolucon thereon, and in the meane tyme they are desired to carry this business secretly, that the same bee not devulged."

#### CHURCH FORMED.

1629. Aug. 6. According to appointment, the organization of the church was finished. Its platform of rule, covenant, and articles of faith, were adopted. The two last were professed,<sup>1</sup> for substance, at the Savoy, by the Congregational churches of England in 1658.

<sup>1</sup> Boston Athenæum Tracts, Book 76.

COMPACT.

1629. Aug. 26. As an important step for the advancement of the Colony, a contract<sup>1</sup> is made at Cambridge, by certain members<sup>2</sup> of the Company. Its premises follow: "Upon due consideration of the state of the plantation now in hand for New England, wherein wee have engaged ourselves; and having weighed the greatnes of the worke in regard of the consequence, God's glory and the churches good;—as also in regard of the difficultyes and discouragements, which, in all probabilityes, must be forecast upon the execution of this businesse; considering with all, that this whole adventure growes upon the joynt confidence we have in each others fidelity and resolution herein, so as no man of us would have adventured it without assurance of the rest." Then comes an engagement, "in the word of a Christian and in the presence of God," on the part of the subscribers, that they would settle their affairs so as to be ready for a voyage hither by the first of next March. This was done on several conditions. One was, that the General Court should vote to transfer "the whole government together with the Patent," to the Plantation and here remain. Another was, that if any one of the contractors should be prevented from compliance, and such prevention was deemed sufficient by three-fourths of their number, he should be excused from embarking so long as his impediment continued. It

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson's Coll. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson, John Humphrey, Thomas Sharp, Increase Nowell, John Winthrop, William Pynchon, Kellam Browne, and William Colbron.

was also agreed, that if either of them failed to be ready, he should forfeit £3 a day for detaining them. Various have been the covenants formed by individuals of different nations and for diverse purposes. But none of them has exceeded this of our fathers, in purity of motive, in denial of selfishness, in firmness of purpose, and in nobleness of end. The Achæan league, long celebrated, sought and obtained civil liberty. But its nature and results would not equally compare with those of this and other compacts, formed by our ancestors.

#### GENERAL COURT AT THE DEPUTY'S HOUSE IN LONDON.

Aug. 28. "Mr. Deputie acquainted<sup>1</sup> this Court, that the especiall cause of their meeting was to giue answer to divers gentlemen, intending to goe into New England, whether or noe the chiefe Gouernment of the Plantacon, togeather with the Pattent, should bee settled in New England or heere. Wherevpon it was ordered, that this afternoone, Mr. Wright, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Adams, Mr. Spurstowe, and such others, as they should thinke fitt to call vnto them, whether they were of the Company or not, to consider of arguments against the setling of the cheife Gouernment in New England. And on the other syde, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Capt. Venn, and such others as they should call vnto them, to prepare arguments for the setling of the said Gouernment in New England,—and that tomorrow morning, being the 29th of August, at 7 of the Clock, both sydes should meete and conferr and weigh each others

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Colony Records.



arguments, and afterwards, at 9 of the Clock, (which is the tyme appointed of meeting for a Generall Court,) to make report thereof to the whole Company, who then will determine this business."

Aug. 29. As an important session, the names<sup>1</sup> of members present are given.

" Mr. Thomas Goffe, <i>Deputy</i> .	Mr. Geo. Harwood, <i>Treasurer</i> .
Sir Richard Saltonstall.	Mr. Richard Perry.
Mr. Isaac Johnson.	Mr. Geo. Foxcroft.
Mr. John Davenport.	Mr. Dauys.
Mr. Samuel Aldersey.	Mr. Ironsyde.
Mr. John Humfrey.	Mr. William Pinchon.
Capt. Waller.	Mr. William Vassal.
Capt. John Venn.	Mr. Rowe.
Mr. Thomas Adams.	Mr. Dan. Ballard.
Mr. Theophilus Eaton.	Mr. Increase Nowell.
Mr. Samuel Vassal.	Mr. Webb.
Mr. Nathaniel Wright.	Mr. Symond Whatcombe.
Mr. Christopher Colston.	Mr. Colbrand."
Mr. John Pocock.	

" This day the Committees which were appointed to meete yesterday in the afternoone to consider of arguments pro and contra, touching the settling of the Gouvernment of the Companies Plantacon in New England, being according to the order of the last Court, mett together, debated their arguments and reasons on both sydes, where were present many of the Assistants and Generalitie, and after a long debate, Mr. Deputie put it to the question as followeth;—As many of you as desire to haue the Pattent and the Gouvernment of the Plantacon to bee transferred to New England, soe as it may bee done legally, hold vpp your hands. Soe many as will not, hold vpp your hands. Where by erecon of hands, it appeared by the generall consent of the Company,

<sup>1</sup> Surnames spellt as recorded.

that the Gouernment and Pattent should bee settled in New England, and accordingly an order to bee drawne vpp."

Sept. 19. "At this Court letters were read from Capt. Endicott and others from New England, and whereas a difference hath falne out, betwixt the Gouernor there and Mr. John and Samuel Browne, it was agreed, that for the determinacon of those differences, Mr. John and Samuell Browne might choose any 3 or 4 of the Company on their behalfe to heare the said differences,—the Company choosing as many." The Referees were accordingly selected. Among those for Messrs. Browns was Mr. William Pinchon, and those for the Company was Mr. John Winthrop. Order was taken as to unloading the Lyon's Whelp and Talbot, arrived from Naumkeag. The Court agreed to take advice how they should act relative to five boys, sent back in the Talbot, for enormous immorality.

Sept. 29. The Court say as to the transferring their government to New England,—“That business being of great and weighty consequence, is thought fitt to bee deferred for determinacon vntill Sir R. Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson and other gentlemen bee come vpp to London.” “It was propounded, that a committee should bee appointed to take advice of learned Councell whether the same may bee legally done or noe; by what way or meanes the same may bee done to corispond with and not to preiudice the Gouernment heere; to consider of the tyme when it wilbe fitt to doe it;—to resolute on whom to conferr the gouernment and diuers other circumstances.” “The next thinge taken into consideracon was the Letters

from Mr. John and Samuell Browne, to divers of their private freinds heere in England, whether the same should bee deliuered or detained, and whether they should bee opened and read or not, and for that it was to bee doubted by probable circumstances, that they had defamed the Country of New England and the Gouvernor and Gouernment there, it was thought fitt that some of the said Letters should bee opened and publiquely read, which was done accordingly, and the rest to remaine at Mr. Deputye's house and the partyes, to whom they are directed, to haue notice, and Mr. Gouvernor, Mr. Deputie, Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Wright, or any two of them, are entreated to bee at the opening and reading therof, to the end the Company may haue notice if ought bee incerted therin, which may bee preiudiciall to their Gouernment or Plantacon in New England. And it is also thought fitt, that none of the Letters from Mr. Samuel Browne shalbe delivered, but kept to bee made vse of against him as occasion shalbe offred." The care of unlading the two ships, lately come from Naumkeag and of paying off the crews,—is committed to the Deputy Governor. "It is also thought fitt and ordered, that the Secretary shall wryte out a copy of the former grant to the Erle of Warwick and others, which was by them resigned to this Company, to bee presented to his Lordship as hee having desired the same." The Court concluded, that the persons, who agreed, July 28, to buy the ship Eagle for the use of the Company,—might do so. "It was resolued on, that this shipp, being of good force and bought for the safety and honor and benefitt of the Plantacon, shall alwayes bee prefered in that voyage before any other

shipp, and to haue some consideracon in her freight aboute other shipps accordingly."

Sept. 29. The Court set a price on the beaver skins, recently brought from Naumkeag, of 20/ a pound. They appoint Mr Wright to sell "the clap-board and other wood" from the same place. Mention was made of petitioning the Lords of the Council at the request of Mr. Endicott, relative to an illicit trade with Indians in his jurisdiction;—but it was deferred. A list of delinquent subscribers to the common stock, was ordered. It was decided that cows and calves, mares and foals,—bought for importation to the Colony,—should be sold,—because the keeping of them over winter would be too expensive. "Concerning the fine boyes, returned in the Talbot, Mr. Whetcombe and Mr. Noell are desired to acquaint Sir Henry Martyn with their misdemeanor, and to advise what punishment may bee inflicted vpon them, and how the Company may bee legally discharged of them." A copy of accusations against Messrs. John and Samuel Brown,—forwarded from Naumkeag,—is allowed them, so that they may give an answer. "Letters from Robert Moulton, the shipwright, and from the cowpers and cleavers of wood, were now read." To these persons, being in the Plantation, replies were to be sent by the next ships.

Oct. 15. "The espetiall and only occasion of this meeting beinge to consider and resolute of the settling the trade in New England (now vpon transferring the Gouvernment thither) for the encouragment as well of the adventurers in the ioynt stock heere, as of those, who already are, and of others, who intend to goe

over in person to bee planters there, and for their mutual corispondence and behoofe and the advancement of the Plantacon to the end, which was at first intended,—the Court tooke the same into due and mature consideracon. And after a long debate and sundry opinions given, and reasons why the ioynt stock (which had borne the brunt of the charge hetherto and was likely to beare much more) should haue certaine comodities appropriate thervnto for re-embursment and defrayment therof, and divers objections being made to those reasons, all which was largely discused and well weighed. The Court on conclusion for accommodacon of both parts fell vpon a moderacon as followeth, viz: That the Companye's joynt stock shall haue the Trade of Beauer and all other ffurrs in those parts soly for the tearme of 7 yeares from this day, for and in consideracon of the charge, that the joynt stock hath vndergone already and is yett annually to beare for the advancement of the Plantacon. That for the charge of ffortificacons, the Companye's ioynt stock to beare the one-halfe, and the Planters to defray the other, viz. for ordnance, munition, powder, etc. but for laborers in building of fforts, etc. all men to bee employed an equall proporcon according to the number of men vpon the Plantacon, and soe to continue vntill such fitt and necessari works bee finished. That the charge of the ministers, now there or that shall hereafter goe to resyde there, as also the charge of building conveyent churches and all publique works vpon the Plantacon, bee in like manner indifferently borne, the one-halfe by the Companye's ioynt stock for the said tearme of 7 yeares, and the other halfe by the Plant-

ers. That the ordnance, already provyded for fortification, bee rated as they cost, as also all powder and munition whatsoever concerning armes, soe as the same bee deliuered there for publique vse, and this to bee accompted as part of the ioynt stock of the Company. All which, beeing seuerall tymes read, was by Mr. Gouvernor put to the question and by generall consent by erecon of hands, was agreed and concluded on and ordered accordingly.

"And forasmuch as by former order the Pattent and Gouvernment is to bee transferred to New England, a committee is appointed, part of the Adventurers heere, and part of those that intend to goe over, viz :

Mr. Dauenport,  
Mr. Wright,  
Mr. Perry,  
Capt. Waller,  
Capt. Venn,  
Mr. Adams,  
Mr. Whetcombe,  
Mr. Young,  
Mr. Spurstowe, and  
Mr. Revell.

Sir Ri: Salstonstall,  
Mr. Johnson,  
Mr. Winthrop,  
Mr. Humfry,  
Mr. Dudley,  
Mr. Vassal,  
Mr. Pinchon, and  
Mr. Downing,

who are desired to meete to-morrow inorning to confer of and drawe fitt and conveyent clauses to bee inserted in articles of agreement, which may bee comodious for ether part, and to prepare the same for a Court of Assistants appointed that afternoone to determine therof."

#### A LETTER FROM THE ASSISTANTS IN LONDON TO MESSRS. SKELTON AND HIGGINSON.

Oct. 16. Anxious as to the result of John and Samuel Browns' expulsion from Massachusetts, the Company's authorities address a letter<sup>1</sup> from London

<sup>1</sup> Hazard, v. 1, p. 287.



to Messrs. Higginson and Skelton. They mention that the Messrs. Browns had recently arrived, being sent home by Governor Endicott, who charged them with factious conduct ;—that, since their arrival, they had “ raised rumors of divers scandalous and intemperate speeches,” as uttered by one or both of Messrs. Higginson and Skelton in their “ publique sermons or prayers,” and of some innovations attempted by them. The matters, here alleged, probably arose from the compliance, made by the Salem church with the Congregational discipline of Plymouth. The letter remarks,—“ Wee have reason to hope, that their reports are but slanders ;” and then cautions the clergymen here to be careful of their ministry,—and, if having said or done aught to justify the censures passed on them, to correct their course ;—and bear in mind, that the Company in England would tolerate no such severity, as was laid to their account. It proceeds,—“ Wee desire that this only may testyfie to you and others, that we are tender of the least aspersion, which ether directly or obliquely, may bee cast vpon the State heere, to whom wee owe soe much duty, and from whom wee haue received soe much fauor in the Plantacon where you now resyde.” A literal adherence to every part of this advice was hard for such men as Higginson and Skelton. In a new sphere, where they were unexposed to the apprehension of a pursuivant at every turn, it was natural for them to preach and pray so as to express their disapprobation of crown-oppression to the Puritans, as well as their gratitude for charter privileges. They felt obligated not to cover up the repulsiveness of the one with the fair mantle of the other, in

their high intercourse with the Judge of the universe, as well as with the mortals who were to stand before Him for retribution. They did not feel justified to deal with the State as if needing no physician. The same conscientiousness, which led them to brave the inflictions of misdirected power at home, would not suffer them, while exiles abroad through its influence, to speak of it by any other name than its own. Thus actuated, they knew, that they were watched by those who honestly differed from them, and who, driven from their soil, and landed upon the shores of England, would as honestly proclaim their clerical course in no measured or commendable terms.

#### A LETTER TO MR. ENDICOTT.

Another communication<sup>1</sup> from the same hands and of the same date as the preceding, is forwarded to Governor Endicott, on a similar topic. It relates, that Messrs. Browns had spoken against him and the ministers, "concerning some rash innovacons begun and practised in the civill and ecclesiasticall gouernment." It takes for granted, that their resentment at being sent home, would lead them to make representations in very strong terms; but still, it adds, there is a possibility "some vndigested counsellis haue too sodainly bin put in execucon, which may haue ill construccon with the State heere, and make vs obnoxious to any adversary." It then urges on Mr. Endicott to be careful about introducing any laws, which may have such a tendency,—and to watch over social and religious concerns so that they lead to

<sup>1</sup> Hazard, v. 1, p. 238.

no such end. This magistrate has had a greater share of blame for excluding Messrs. Browns from the Plantation, than actually belonged to him. Others were active as well as himself to ensure their departure. For what he did in that affair, he had ample authority. But whether it was expedient to exercise his power, as he did, is a question which religious toleration, as generally understood in his day, would answer in the affirmative,—but, as understood in ours, would answer in the negative. Men should be judged according to the light of the age in which they live.

COURT OF ASSISTANTS AT THE DEPUTY'S HOUSE IN  
LONDON.

Oct. 16. "This court<sup>1</sup> was appointed to treat and resolute, that vpon the transferring of the Gouernment to New England what Gouernment shalbe held at London, whereby the future charge of the ioynt stock may bee cherished and preserved, and the body politique of the Company remaine and increase. What persons shall haue the charge of the managing of the ioynt stock both at London and in New England, wherein it is conceved fitt, that Capt. Endecott continue the Gouernment there ynnless iust cause to the contrarie. These and other things were largely discussed, and it was thought fitt and naturall, that the Gouernment of persons bee held there, the Gouernment of trade and marchandize to bee here. That the ioynt stock being mutuall both here and there, that some fitt persons bee appointed for managing therof in both places."

<sup>1</sup> Colony Records.

## 138 DEBT. REV. MR. WHITE. CONTRACT. OFFICERS.

A committee were designated to report means for paying the large debt due from the joint stock, before the transferring of the Government to New England. "The shipp Eagle is to bee freighted from Bristoll." Letters, addressed to Messrs. Endicott, Skelton, and Higginson, were read and signed.

Oct. 19. "A meeting at Mr. Deputies house on Monday." Mr. White, the preacher, and Mr. White, the counsellor, were there. Articles of agreement, between the Planters and Adventurers, drawn up by Mr. White, the counsellor, were approved.

## GENERAL COURT IN LONDON.

Oct. 20. The Contract (received 19th) was placed in the hands of a Committee, for particular consideration. Of this Committee, Sir R. Saltonstall, Messrs. Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, and Humphrey, were on behalf of the Planters; and Messrs. Cradock, Aldersey, Wright, Hutchins, and Capt. Venn, for the Adventurers. Provided they or a majority of them could not agree, Mr. White, the lawyer, and Rev. Messrs. White and Davenport, were to act as umpires. As the government was to be transferred to New England, Governor Cradock remarked, that new officers for it must be elected. Accordingly, of four put in nomination, namely, Messrs. Winthrop, Saltonstall, Johnson, and Humphrey, the first was chosen "with full consent by ereccon of hands." Of him, so honored, the record of the occasion says,—“having received extraordinary great comendacons, both for his integritie and sufficiency, as being one very well fitted and accomplished for the place.” “In like manner and with like full consent, Mr. John Humfry was

chosen deputie Gouvernor," and Sir R. Saltonstall, Messrs. Is. Johnson, Tho. Dudley, Jo. Endicott, In. Noell, Wm. Vassal, Wm. Pynchon, Sam. Sharpe, Edw. Rositer, Tho. Sharpe, John Revell, Mat. Craddock, Tho. Goffe, Sam. Aldersey, John Venn, Nath. Wright, Theoph. Eaton, and Tho. Adams, were chosen to be Assistants. The most of these officers, being present, took their respective oaths.

#### COURT OF ASSISTANTS IN LONDON.

Nov. 20. A representation of the Company's pecuniary concerns, showed, that they owed upwards of £1,200 for seamen's wages and freight of the ships Talbot, May Flower, and Four Sisters. It was ordered, that this demand be paid before other debts. Mr. Craddock was the chief agent for the Company's commercial interests. Messrs. John and Samuel Brown petitioned, that as some of their goods at Naumkeag were undervalued and others not appraised at all, they may have relief. It was concluded, that if they could prove their statement, they should be compensated in London,—but, if not, Mr. Winthrop would examine their case after he reached America. "Mr. Beecher, Mr. of the shipp Talbot, desired to haue in a bond, which he entered into, to Mr. Pratt for wages or allowance to a chirurgion to the Lyon's Whelpe, who was to haue 2/6 for every person in the shipp according to an agreement made with them, the number of the persons being about 125, of which Mr. Beecher had formerly deliuered a particuler note to Mr. Goffe. The Court conceiving the said allowance to bee exorbitant and more than is vsuall in like cases, doe desire that the chirurgion bee appointed to

bee heere the next Generall Court and then such conclusion is to bee made with him as shalbe fitt." According to representation of Mr. Smith, the accountant, some of the subscribers to the general stock had paid nothing, and others but a part. It was ordered, that "ticketts should bee sent vnto them to desire them to send in the somes by them vnder-written."

#### GENERAL COURT IN LONDON.

Nov. 25. This was a quarterly General Court, as appointed by Charter. A letter of 5th September "from Mr. Endecott, the Gouvernor, and others in New England, was now read, as also, Mr. Gouvernor acquainted those present with certaine testymonyes sent over against on Wm. Revell, Mr. of a shipp, concerning some insolent and misbecseeming speeches vttered by him in contempt of the Company's priuiledges and gouernment, which is to bee taken into further consideracon, and hee proceeded against when other certyficates are come, which are expected concerning that business." Governor Winthrop stated, that the Committee on the contract, between the Planters and Adventurers, were not yet prepared to report, "by reason of the greatness of the business and the smalness of the supplies;"—that they had only "reduced it to certaine proposicons to bee represented to the consideracon of the Company to receive their resolucon therin." The accountant produced an estimate, viz :

"The ioynt stock appeares to bee in arreare £3,000 and vpwards; towards which £3,000, ther is 1,900



in subscripcions not yett brought in, and about 8 or £900 vpon freight of shippes. There wilbe a necessitie for supply of necessarys—

for the Companys servants	1,000
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for marchandizes for trade	500
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for munition and Artillery for fortificacon	500
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soe as there being an inevitable necessitie of supply of mony ether to revyve the old stock or to raise a new, the proposicons were now expressed, viz:—

1. That all the former adventurers should double their former subscripcions. 2. That the servants, cattle, and all marchandizes or provisions belonging to the ioynt stock should bee sold, and the vnderwryters bee paid their proporcons of what shall accrew or arise therof. 3, or lastly, That the old stock bee putt over to certaine vndertakers vpon such conditions as can be agreed on, and they to goe on with the worke and manage the business; to beare all charges and to stand to profit and loss, and to pay the vnderwryters their principall by them brought at the end of 7 yeares, and this to bee vnderstood not to exclude any who haue affeccion to this business, but that they may come in vnder those vndertakers for such somes, as they shall think fitt to adventure, but that for the better furtherance and facilitating the business, the same to bee managed by few hands. And for the incouragment of such vndertakers, the Committee haue thought of certaine inducements, viz: That they shall haue the one halfe of the beauer,—the sole making of salt,—the sole transportation of passengers, servants, and goods, to bee transported at resonable rate,—to bee allowed a resonable profit vpon all

such provisions, as they shall keepe in magazine there, for the vse and reliefe of the inhabitants." To consider these premises, "a spetiall Court is appointed on Monday next, and the whole Company to be summoned by tickets to bee present." "To the end that this business might bee proceeded in with the first intencon, which was cheifly the glory of God and to that purpose, that their meetings might bee sanctyfyed by the prayers of some faithfull ministers, resident heere in London, whose advice would bee likewise requisite vpon many occasions, the Court thought fitt to admitt into the freedome of this Company Mr. Jo. Archer and Mr. Phillip Nye, ministers heere in London, who, being heere present, kindly accepted therof. Also Mr. Whyte did recommend vnto them Mr. Nathaniel Ward of Standon."

Here the commendable custom of having legislative business preceded by daily intercession for the divine blessing, is first noted by the Company's records. As ministers previously attended their sessions, it is very likely, that they had performed similar service. This is one of the ancient usages, not yet discarded by our political authorities. Recreant indeed to the memory of its founders and to a safeguard of its public integrity, must the State be, if ever so degraded in moral sentiment, as to exclude devotion from its councils.

Here, too, is a purpose of the Court to ask the opinion of ministers on questions, which may come before them. As well known, this was continued under our Colonial Charter. The origin of it was with laymen, which implies that the clergy were not so officious in thrusting themselves into civil affairs,

as some would have us believe. Though preachers of the gospel have enough to occupy all their energies, yet New England is greatly indebted to their predecessors for much salutary advice. We hope, that she may never have less disinterested advisers, than they, as a class, have been.

Here, also, we perceive the reception of freemen. This must have been done before, as specified by the Charter, and was afterwards, in our Colony, for a considerable period.

Nov. 30. The Governor, Deputy, Treasurer, and eleven Assistants, and twenty-five of the Generality were present. The Court agreed that five of the Planters and five of the Adventurers, "should take the ioynt stock at the true value, and take vpon them the engagements and other charges, for which there should bee appropriated to the ioynt stock for 7 yeares"—the privileges specified at the last meeting. A Committee was appointed to value the joint stock; among them was Rev. Mr. White of Dorchester.

Dec. 1. This Committee reported, "That wheras divers somes had bin disbursed in publique charges as transporting of ministers and their families, ammunition, etc. which were not now to bee valued to the vndertakers, as being to remaine alwayes to the Plantacon, and wheras many of the servants which were transported at extraordinary charge, doe not prove soe vsefull as was expected, and soe will not yield the vndertakers any such benefitt as may answere their charge, divers of the cattle and provisions likewise miscarryinge through want of experience in the begininge of such a worke, they could not fynde the said stock to remaine cleere and good, (the debts dis-

charged,) about one-third part of the whole some, which hath bin adventured from the first to this present day, which value vpon due examinacon and long debate was allowed by all the Court. Wherevpon it was propounded and agreed by the whole Court, that the old adventurers, in lieu of this abatement of two-thirds of their adventures, should haue an addition of a double proporcon of land according to the first proporcon of 200 acres for £50, and that they should haue libertie to putt in what somes they pleased to bee added to their former adventures, soe as they subscribed the same before the first day of January now next following, and such as liue in the country remote from the cittie of London, to enter their subscripcons before the second of February next, and that any of the said adventurers may take out their adventures after the aforesaid rate. And further, that it should bee lawfull for all other persons, with consent of any three of the vndertakers, to put in what somes of mony they please to bee traded in the ioynt stock,—vpon such allowance to the comon stock for publike vses, in regard that they shall beare noe part in the former losses, as the said adventurers or three of them shall agree with them from tyme to tyme, and that all adventurers shall pay in their adventures in such time and manner, as shalbe agreed between them and the said vndertakers or any three of them. It was also agreed by the Court, that in regard the vndertakers should beare the greatest charge and burthen, and all other adventurers should haue equall part of the gaine, if any did proceede, that therefore, they should haue £5 in the hundred cleere gaines of the said ioynt stock, both in and out, all charges

being deducted. And that the ioynt stock, being thus managed, at the end of 7 yeares, to bee accounted from this day, as well the said stock, as the proccede and profitt therof, to be devyded to every man proportionably, according to his adventure, and all the said preuiledges then to cease, and all persons to bee at libertie to dispose of their parts in the ioynt stock at their owne pleasure. Herevpon the Court thought fitt to desire the gentlemen here vndernamed to vndertake the ioynt stock vpon the tearmes before propounded, viz: Mr. John Winthrop, the Gouvernor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Kt., Isack Johnson, Esq., Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. John Revell, Mr. Matt. Cradock, Mr. Nathaniell. Wright, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. Thomas Goff, Mr. James Youngg—which gentlemen, vpon much entreaty of the Court, did accept of the said charge and accordingly were chosen to bee vndertakers, to haue the sole managing of the ioynt stock, with all things incydent for the space of 7 yeares, as is aforesaid.” Mr. Samuel Aldersey was chosen Treasurer for this company of undertakers. “It was also ordered by the Court, that the vndertakers should provyde a sufficient number of shippes of good force for transporting of passingers at the rate of £5 a person, and £4 a tonne for goods, which shalbe ready to sett sail from London, by the first day of March, and that if any passingers bee to take shipp at the Isle of Wight, the shipps shall stopp there 24 howers, and that all such as intend to pass over, shall giue in their names, with 40/ towards their freight, to one of the said vndertakers abyding in London, on the Michaes tearme before the 20th of Febr. following, and shall giue securitie for the rest of their

freight, as they can agree with the said vndertakers, ether for mony to bee paid heere, or for comoditie to bee deliuered in the Plantacon: ffurther, it was agreed, that for the transportacon of children, this rate shalbe kept, viz: sucking children not to bee reckoned; such as vnder 4 yeares of age, 3 for one; vnder 8, 2 for one, vnder 12, 3 for 2. And that a shipp of 200 tonn shall not carry aboue 120 passengers compleate, and soe of other shippes after the same proporcon. And for goods homewards, the freight shalbe for beauer £3 per tonn, and for other comodities 40/ per tonn, and such as will haue their goods assured shall pay £5 per C. Concerning the magazine, it is likewise agreed, that the vndertakers should furnish the Plantacon with all such comodities, as they shall send for, and the Planters to take them off and retaile them at their pleasure, allowing the vndertakers £25 in the hundred aboue all charges, and the Planters to haue liberty to dispose of their part of the beauer at their owne will, and every man may fetch or send for any comoditie for his owne vse, where or how hee please, soe as hee trade not with interlopers, soe long as hee may bee furnished suffitiently by the adventurers at the rates aforesaid." As to other regulations, the Court empower the undertakers to make such, as need may require, which are to continue at the pleasure of the former body. "Provyded alwayes, that if those, that intend to inhabite vpon the Plantacon, shall, before the first of January next, take vpon them all the said engagments and other charges of the ioynt stock, then the power and priueledges of the vndertakers to determine, and all trade, etc., to bee free."



Dec. 15. "Mr. Deputie caused to bee read the acts and orders, made at the last Generall Court of the 30th of November, which beinge of great consequence, as, namely, for setting the joynt stock and managing of the whole business, it was desired the same should receive confirmacon by this Court; vpon debate wherof, some excepcons were taken by those who had doubled their adventures, conceiving themselves to bee wronged in hauing both their somes drawne downe to soe lowe a rate as one-third part, alleadinge that the second some was paid in vpon a proposicon of trade, which went not forward, and not as vnto the ioynt stock for the Plantacon. This business received a large discussion, and Capt. Waller and Mr. Vassall were content to giue the first £50 to the Plantacon, soe as their other £50 might goe on wholly in this new stock; but forasmuch as this concerned diuers others, who were in the same case, and that it could not bee done without alteracon of the act made the 30th of November, which was done by a Generall Court vpon mature and deliberate consideracon, and the vndertakers would not continue their said vnder-taking but vpon the same conditions, which were then propounded and concluded on,—this Court in conclusion, put it to the question, and by ereccon of hands, every particuler of the former Court was raty-fied and confirmed. And the matter in difference with them, who had doubled their adventures, being noe more to each of them then between £50 and £33: 6: 8, was by mutuall consent referred to the three ministers heere present, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Archer, who are to reconcile the same betweene the new vndertakers and them."

Though the colonists here had reason to be encouraged by movements of the Company at home; still the signs among themselves were cheerless and depressing. As the winter approached, disease<sup>1</sup> and mortality continued their dreadful work. Nearly one-half of their number<sup>2</sup> died. Among them was the Ruling Elder, Henry Haughton. Such a repeated event was enough to have driven ordinary adventurers from the shores, which breathed pestilence and death. But the afflicted survivors continued firm and hoped for better days. While they looked, in imagination, to the more healthy residences of England, others were earnestly engaged in preparing to move thence, and become partakers with them in the trials of a new country. Many are glad in the heritage purchased by their hardships. Few would pay its price.

GENERAL COURT AT MR. GOFFE'S HOUSE IN LONDON.

1630. Feb. 10. "fforasmuch as the furtherance of the Plantacon will necessarylie require a great and continuall charge, which cannot with convenyence bee defrayed out of the ioynt stock of the Company, which is ordained for the maintenance of the trade, without endangering the same to bee wasted and exhausted, it was therefore propounded, that a common stock should bee raysted from such as beare good affecon to the Plantacon and the propagacon therof, and the same to bee employed only in defrayment of publique charges, as maintenance of ministers, trans-

<sup>1</sup> This sickness appears to have been imparted to the inhabitants by the passengers, who arrived in the summer. Prince, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Governor Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln.

portacon of poore famylyes, buildeing of churches and ffortyfcacons, and all other publike and necessary occasions of the Plantacon, and the Court doe thinke fitt and order 200 acres of land shalbe allotted for every 50 lb. and soe proportionable for what some shalbe brought in by any to this purpose. And Mr. George Harwood is chosen Treasurer for this accompt of the common stock, which he accepted of, who is to receive all such money as shalbe by any sent in, and to issue out the same vpon warrant vnder the hands of any 2 or more of the vndertakers. And it is further agreed on and ordered, that an order bee drawne vpp and published vnder the seale of the Company, to signifie and declare to what vses all such monyes, as are giuen to the common stock shalbe employed, and what land shalbe allotted to each man, that giues thervnto, as well for the satisfacon as the incouragment of others to soe laudable and charitable a worke, and it was further taken into consideracon and ordered, that this allottment or devisions of land shall not preiudice the right of any the adventurers, who are to haue land and haue not yett the same allotted out vnto them, nor vnto those, whose land is already sett out according to the former order and direcccon of this Court, yett nevertheless, it is further agreed, that if for good and weighty reasons and for the benefitt of the plantacon in generall, there shalbe occasion to alter any particuler man's allottment, the said party is to haue such due recompence for the same as in the wisdom of the Gouvernor and Company there resident, shalbe thought reasonable and expedient. Mocon was made on the behalfe of Sir

William Brewerton, who by vertue of a late Pattent, pretends right and tittle to some part of the land within the Companye's priuiledges and Plantacon in New England, yett nevertheless hee intends not to contest with the Company, but desires, that a proportionable quantitie of land might bee allotted vnto him for the accomodacon of his people and servants now to bee sent over, which request the Court taking into due consideracon, doe not thinke fitt to enter into any particuler cappitulacon with him therin nor to sett out any allotment of land for him more than 600 acres, hee is to haue by vertue of his adventure in the ioynt stock, nor to acknowledg any thing due vnto him as of right by vertue of his said Pattent nor to giue any consideracon in case hee should relinquish his pretended right, but they are well content hee should ioyne with them in the prosecucon of this business according to their Charter and doe promise in the meane tyme that such servants as hee shall send over to inhabite vpon the Plantacon shall receive all courteous respect and bee accomodated with land and what els shalbe necessary, as other the servants of the Company; which answer was deliuered vnto those, that were sent from him and the Court desired also that Capt. Waller and Mr. Eaton would signifie the Companye's affection and due respect vnto him, hee hauing written to them about this business." The Court agreed to the settlement of Messrs. John and Samuel<sup>1</sup> Brown's claim for damages in their

<sup>1</sup> In the former edition of this work, p. 38-9, the Messrs. Browns were supposed to have come back and lived here. One reason for this was, that a John Brown resided in Salem a few years after their difficulties. But from other considerations, it is likely, that this person was not one of them and that they did not return hither.

property at Naumkeag,—by means of two referees. “Mr. Roger Ludlow was now chosen and sworn an assistant in the room of Mr. Samuells Sharpe, who by reason of his absence had not taken the oath.” Twenty Nobles were ordered for Humphry Seale, the Beadle, as his salary ending at Christmas, to be paid from the joint stock.

COURT OF ASSISTANTS AT SOUTHAMPTON.

March 18. “It was ordered and concluded by ereccon of hands, that Sir Brian Janson, Kt., Mr. William Coddington and Mr. Simon Bradstreet, gent., shalbe chosen in the roomes and places of Assistants of Mr. Nathaniell Wright, merchant, Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. Thomas Goff, of London, merchants.” Sir Brian Janson took his oath before the Governor and Mr. Dudley the same day, and Messrs. Coddington and Bradstreet on the 23d, before the Governor, Mr. Dudley and other assistants.

COURT OF ASSISTANTS ON BOARD THE ARBELLA.

March 23. “Mr. John Humfrey in regard hee was to stay behinde in England, was discharged of his deputyshipp, and Mr. Thomas Dudley chosen deputy in his place.”

Here close our records of Massachusetts Company's Courts<sup>1</sup> on the other side of the Atlantic. They have been adduced to throw light on the beginnings of this community. Con them. They bear no impress of speculation, which soiled the registers of the

<sup>1</sup> According to the deposition of Richard Brackenbury, these Courts, when Mr. Endicott was about to embark for this country, were held “in Cornewell Streete in London.”

South Sea Corporation. They exhibit more attractive traits of humanity, higher aims of moral obligation, and a further reach into endless realities, than the commercial acts of the far-famed East India Associations in Europe. They contain transactions, which—however wearing, when first penned, the aspect of uncertainty, attendant on every new enterprise—have given rise to results of momentous relation to the temporal and eternal interests of our race. Like the scroll of Israel's covenant to them,—they should be precious in our eyes.

#### PARTING ADDRESS.

April 7. An address<sup>1</sup> from Governor Winthrop and others,<sup>2</sup> on board the *Arbella*, at Yarmouth, is made to their brethren in the Church of England. The object of it was to request the prayers of such Christians for a divine blessing on the Colony, and to remove suspicions from their minds, concerning the motives and purposes of the emigrants. It appears to have had in view the reports of Messrs. Browns and others, as though the design of the Colonists was to counteract the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of England. Its language is, "howsoever your charitie may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection, or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us; for wee are not of those, that

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's *New England*, p. 126, which imputes this Address to the pen of the Rev. John White.

<sup>2</sup> Their names were Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thos. Dudley, Wm. Coddington, Chas. Fines, and George Phillips,—with two etceteras in the printed account, which are probably substitutes for more subscribers to the original address.



dreame of perfection in this world; yet wee desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteeme it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native Countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes." This is the expression of patriotic and Christian affection, which adorns character in any period, clime and condition. Though the consequent, as well as previous action of its authors was made the target of strenuous conformists, no doubt it was a sincere oblation on the common altar of benevolence. The address appeals to the Clergy;—"It is an usuall and laudable exercise of your charity, to commend to the prayers of your Congregations the necessities and straights of your private neighbours. Doe the like for a Church springing out of your owne bowells." 'This was a proper request. Hard as it is for human selfishness to call down blessings on any body,—who break over its restrictions,—the duty should be done against all the cabals of its resisting propensities. The communication engages, that its signers will do for their brethren in England, what they so ask for themselves, when, as their words are, "we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us." These thoughts shadow forth the anticipation of exceeding hardships and a noble purpose to meet them in the only way of

duty—of peace and benefit to the soul—and of securing the elevated objects of the enterprise.

#### INDIAN CONSPIRACY.

April and May. The colonists, here and elsewhere, are alarmed by the report,<sup>1</sup> that most of the Indians, from Narraganset to the eastward, had laid a plan to destroy the English. John, the Sagamore at Mystic, exposed their design. The first point of their intended attack was upon Plymouth. Governor Bradford dispatched a boat to Salem for ammunition. The people of Charlestown built a fort to defend themselves. Their records say, in reference to the unfriendly natives of this quarter, "the people at Salem, shooting off their great guns to clear them, the report so terrifies the Indians, that they disperse and run away. This plot obliges us to be in continual arms."

#### GOV. WINTHROP ON BENEVOLENCE.

On his passage to Salem, Governor Winthrop employed his thoughts in penning an excellent treatise<sup>2</sup> on Christian Charity. His chief object in so rational an employment, was to prepare himself and associates for the duties and trials of their pilgrimage. Having discussed the properties of so elevated a virtue, he applies it to the enterprise of the colonists. Relative to this undertaking, he considers the persons, work, end and means. Of the first, he remarks,—“Wee are a company, professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect onely, though wee were absent from each other many miles, and had our im-

<sup>1</sup> Charlestown Records.

<sup>2</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll. 3 s. 7 v. 33 p.

ployments as farre distant, yet wee ought to account ourselves knitt together by this bond of loue, and liue in the exercise of it, if wee would have comforte of our being in Christ." Of the second,—“It is by a mutuall consent, through a speciall overvaluing<sup>1</sup> Providence, and a more than ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seeke out a place of cohabitation and consorteshipp under a due form of Government both ciuill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this, the care of the publike must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but meare ciuill pollicy, dothe binde us. For it is a true rule, that particular estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the publike.” Of the third,—“The *end* is to improve our liues to doe more service to the Lord; the comforte and encrease of the body of Christe, whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserued from the common corruptions of this euill world, to serve the Lord and worke out our salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances.” Of the fourth,—“They are two-fold, a conformity with the worke and end wee aime at. These wee see are extraordinary, therefore wee must not content ourselves with usuall ordinary meanes. Whatsoever wee did, or ought to have done, when wee liued in England, the same must we doe, and more allsoe, where wee goe. That which the most in their churches mainetaine as truthe in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practise.” Noble sentiments; strictly in accordance with the necessities, obligations, and interests of men! When will the whole of our

<sup>1</sup> Probably *overruling* in the original.

race imbibe their lofty spirit—and act more for heaven than earth! The principles, so inculcated, and the practice of its author upon them, deserve, in the eye of real desert, as explained by Omniscience, a richer crown, and should receive a higher reward, than all other temporal greatness. Common consent may array the deeds of unsanctified genius, and the success of vicious ambition, with its brightest robes,—but the hand of everlasting truth will tear them away, and expose the deformity which they attempt to cover.

#### ARRIVAL OF EMIGRANTS.

June 12. After a long passage, from the 29th of March, the author of the preceding sentiments saw Salem,<sup>1</sup> as the port of destination, and reached an anchorage inside of Baker's island. He came in the Arbella<sup>2</sup> of 350 tons, 52 seamen, and 28 guns, commanded by Peter Milborne. Three<sup>3</sup> other ships sailed with her, leaving seven<sup>4</sup> more at Hampton. While at anchor, the Arbella was visited by the noted Captain, William Peirce, of the ship Lion, then in the harbor. The call of this Palinurus of our colonial seas, must have been welcome to the newly arrived emigrants. He soon came ashore and carried off Messrs. Endecott, Skelton and Levett, to take part in the mutual congratulations of the occasion. On the return of these, after a few hours, they were accom-

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop's Journal, v. 1, p. 25—27.

<sup>2</sup> Said by Johnson to have been the Eagle, and named in honor of lady Arbella Johnson. Wonder Working Prov. ch. 14, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Ambrose, Jewel, and Talbot,

the first, commanded by John Lowe, second by Nicholas Hurlston, and third by Thos. Beecher.

<sup>4</sup> Charles, Mayflower, William and Francis, Hopewell, Whale, Success, and Trial.

panied by some of the passengers. Speaking of this visit, so full of novel impressions and kind greetings, Governor Winthrop thus expresses himself: "We that were of the Assistants and some other gentlemen, and some of the women, and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeek, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind." He adds,—“In the mean time, most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries.” Pleasant introduction to a new country.

June 14. After the solemnities of the preceding Sabbath, the *Arbella* was warped into the harbor. Most of the emigrants left her under a parting salute of five cannon. Happy exchange of confined ship-board for the green earth and true welcome of countrymen. The *Jewel*, which arrived on Sunday, added her appearance with that of her busy crew and passengers, to render the scene still more varied and pleasing. These vessels were the precursors of others, which landed passengers at different places. It was not long ere the tide of emigration, so hopefully setting towards our shores, received a check.

Having finished his voyage, Mr. Winthrop entered on his duties, as chief magistrate of the colony. Though the civil power thus came to his hands, yet the principles of his administration were like those, which had directed the course of Mr. Endicott. The spirit of liberty, contained in the charter brought by the former, was the same, which breathed in its transcript, previously received and followed by the latter.

The commencement of legislation; which was to have an important part in promoting the social freedom, that has spread and is still spreading in the world, began at Naumkeag under Endicott, and was continued by his worthy successor.

No doubt, on the arrival of the new government at Salem, there was a strong desire of its inhabitants, that it might be continued as the capital of the colony. But it was soon evident, that they would be disappointed.

#### DISTRESS OF THE COLONISTS.

June 14. The last emigrants<sup>1</sup> found the inhabitants here in a wretched condition. They saw a large number of them weak and sick. They came in season to relieve them from the horrors of approaching famine. Even provisions, by such a supply, was far from being abundant. There was only enough for a few weeks. Of 180 servants in the colony, whom the Company had sent over two years before, at great cost, the remainder came to those, recently arrived, and entreated for food. But, however so affectingly addressed, the latter were constrained to deny, lest their own stores should be consumed. The supplies, put up for these suffering settlers, had been left behind. The authorities, being unable to maintain them, were under the necessity of ordering, that they have their liberty and provide for themselves.

The settlers who came last to Salem, were dissatisfied with it, as their permanent place of abode. They consulted accordingly. A party were sent<sup>2</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Governor Dudley's Letter.

<sup>2</sup> June 17.



discover a more suitable location. On their return,<sup>1</sup> they spoke highly of a situation on Mystic river. There was a dissent from this, which terminated in the decision to settle on Charles river.

## LETTER OF DR. FULLER.

June 28. In a communication.<sup>2</sup> of Dr. Samuel Fuller to Mr. Bradford, he remarks, that Governor Winthrop and others, lately arrived at Salem, "are resolved to sit down at the head of Charles river." He states, that some individuals are unfriendly to Plymouth. His language denotes, that these persons endeavored to prejudice Mr. Winthrop against the same colony;—but that he still appeared well disposed towards the authorities there. The cause of such alienation was probably the suspicion, that the Plymouth church had too much of Brownism in its polity. Dr. Fuller represents Mr. Endicott as giving no countenance to management of this kind. He calls him, "my dear friend and a friend to us all; is a second Burrow; the Lord establish him and us all in every good way of truth." Well for the union of two religious colonies, destined to exert a great and salutary influence, that there were leading men in both of them, who calmed the fomentations of bigoted zeal, and promoted the course of truth on a peaceful current.

## HENRY WINTHROP DROWNED.

While many of those recently arrived, were busy in preparing to live amid new scenes, they receive a

<sup>1</sup> J. ne 19.

<sup>2</sup> Bradford's Letter Book. Mass. Hist. Coll. s. 1, v. 3, p. 74.

solemn monition<sup>1</sup> of their mortality, in the sudden death of a promising young man. This was a son of Governor Winthrop. He had been prevented from coming with his father. But as soon as practicable, he followed. Among the objects which caused his bitterest sorrow in leaving his native land, was the wife of his ardent affection. Prompted by duty, he forsook the dearest attractions of home, to brave the perils of distant, savage climes.

He reached the harbor of Salem, July 1st, in the ship *Talbot*. Though he had witnessed the sea-burial of fourteen among her passengers, yet he little thought, that, with the promised enjoyments of landing and living on the soil of his intended residence just within his grasp, they would utterly elude his touch. The day succeeding his arrival, he hastens on shore. His eye already dances with delight, as it falls on the gathering to welcome his approach. But it soon closes, in a watery grave, no more to gaze on human or earthly concerns. His afflicted parent, in writing to his wife a fortnight after, thus gives vent to his chastened grief. "We have met with many sad and discomfortable things, as thou shalt hear after; and the Lord's hand hath been heavy upon myself in some very near to me. My son, Henry! my son, Henry! ah! poor child! Yet it grieves me more for my dear daughter. The Lord strengthen and comfort her heart, to bear this cross patiently. I know thou wilt not be wanting to her in this distress. Yet for all these things (I praise my God) I am not discouraged; nor do I see cause to repent or despair

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop's Journal, v. 1, p. 29, 372.

of those good days here, which will make amends for all."

July 8. In view of relief, afforded by the last emigrants, to their brethren in distress, and of the preservation, experienced by the former on the ocean, a day<sup>1</sup> of general thanksgiving is observed. Together they mingled their oblations of gratitude to Him, who was able to make all their changes terminate in good.

In accordance with their purpose to relinquish Salem, as the seat of legislation, Governor Winthrop and others have their goods reshipped and brought<sup>2</sup> to Charlestown. Here news was related, that the French intended to attack the colonists. Many of the emigrants were sick with fevers and scurvy so that the ordnance and baggage could be carried no further. These considerations led to a change of purpose, and to a dispersion of the company, who had concluded to form a town three leagues up Charles river.

While things remained so unsettled, "the lady Arbella and some other godly women aboard<sup>3</sup> at Salem."

#### REASONS FOR CHANGE OF CAPITAL.

At this juncture, varied was the prospect of the colonists. But clouds, far more than a clear sky, hung over them. Had mere earthly aims brought them thus far, they would have turned back and forsaken the coasts of toil, difficulty, peril and distress.

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop, 1 v. p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> This was before July 16.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, part 1, p. 37.

But their vision pierced the heavens and rested on immutable promise and divine approbation. Thus they were each enabled to gather strength, far more essential for their enterprise, than all the physical power of a Hercules. So upheld, they looked at the question of relinquishing Naumkeag, as the capital, with an eye of conscientious duty. For the decision, given to it, there were evident reasons. The comparative deficiencies of this settlement in high and airy location ; in soil for extensive and thrifty agriculture ; in water for numerous and heavy ships, and in centrality of position, were of such a class. To these were probably added, the desire to obtain a place of greater capability for safe fortification and one nearer the disputed territory of Gorges, so that it might be retained by Massachusetts proprietors. However satisfactory arguments of this kind may have been to those swayed by them, still the separation, in view of its results, was far from being pleasant to those, who remained upon the premises. The latter emigrants had selected their quotas of land and their sites for domicils, with the hope, that this spot would be continued as the metropolis of the colony. The recent arrival of the principal charter and many passengers,—the assurance, that the two administrations of the Company were amalgamated, for ought they knew, would give a powerful impulse to their own community. But their expectation was disappointed, and their accession proved diminution.

When informed that those, who had gone out from them, were disconcerted in their plan by reports of foreign invaders, the thought may have risen in their minds, that such adversity would repair their loss.

But the dawn of a better experience, was evanescent. No movement was made to readopt this town as the seat of legislation. Hence Conant and his fellow pioneers, who selected it as highly favorable to sustain such a relation, and Endicott with his friends, who alike responded to its being so constituted, were constrained to give up their fond wishes, that it might long be the radiating point of emigration—the source of trade, wealth, law and influence. Still, knowing that obligation demanded individual predilections and interests to be waved for the greater public benefit, they bowed in submission, and continued their efforts to advance the common weal. They needed no Charistian festival to reconcile them with dissenting countrymen. Worthy example! To those of other aims, it gives the severe rebuke—

*“What wretched ends on curst ambition wait.”*

To those of congenial motives, it issues the injunction—

*“Ne'er from the golden mean of virtue bend.”*

May the like manly thought, the same elevated principles and noble purposes of our pilgrim fathers, be equally influential over every successive generation of their descendants.

#### FIRST SETTLERS.

For the satisfaction of those who love to review the names of such emigrants as took part in the early concerns of Salem, and knew, from experience, the difficulties attendant on a new settlement—the ensuing lists are presented. Before, however, we proceed to give them, it may not be amiss to look further

back on some facts with which they have a connection. In the former periods of the world, each person had but one name. Subsequently, as occasion seemed to require, this number was increased. In nations, both ancient and modern, names were applied to individuals, as expressive of parental good wishes for children; of some particular event, place, office, and trade; of physical, intellectual and moral qualities. Names were, also, thus appropriated, as significant of the winds, colors, animals and other things. The Romans and other nations considered a person's name as having much influence on his course and experience of life. Hence their proverb, "a good name, a good omen." The Christian name, as is well known, was so designated, because applied to children when christened or baptized. It was used to distinguish an individual. Surnames began to be adopted in England about 1050. They were not popular among the great mass of the inhabitants there till about 1307. Tillet maintained, that they were given as sobriquets or nicknames. But Camden, with much more argument, held that they were applied for the reasons just mentioned. Du Cange stated, that the term, surname (the *sur* meaning *over*) was so denominated, because, when first used in Europe, it was placed above the Christian name. Such a term was employed to signify families. The different masters of England—as the ancient Britons, who used personal appellations to express the colors of the paint, put on themselves; the Romans; the Anglo-Saxons, who introduced German names; the Danes, and the Normans, who increased the German vocabulary,—left their respective words to be preserved or not, as



their successors preferred. Soon after the Norman conquest, the English, for the most part, dispensed with the Roman and Danish names, and incorporated, with their first names of German origin, those from the Scriptures. In accordance with this custom, the settlers of Salem had their Christian names chiefly derived, and their surnames mostly, from the occasions previously specified. But the practice of assigning personal appellations was observed by them, in general, as by their descendants, without any particular attention to the causes of their being originally employed. The lists of our ancestors show, that a portion of their surnames have ceased from the first bounds of Naumkeag, while many others have succeeded them. They also furnish the fact, that no middle names had yet been chosen by them. Many of the ancient surnames have undergone no small change in their orthography.

The titles of Mr. and Goodman, as applied by our fathers, call for a passing notice. They were derived from England. A writer<sup>1</sup> makes the ensuing observations. "As for gentlemen, they be made good-cheap in England; for whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, who studieth in the universities, who professeth liberal sciences, and to be short, who can live idly and without manual labor, and will bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman, he shall be called Master, for that is the title which men give to Esquires and other gentlemen." "Yeomen are next to the nobility, knights and squires. This sort

<sup>1</sup> Smith's Commonwealth of England.

of people are not gentlemen, but for the most part farmers to gentlemen, and by grazing, frequenting markets, etc., do come to such wealth, that they are able to buy the lands of unthrifty gentlemen, and after setting their sons to the universities, to the laws, etc., do make their sons gentlemen. Yeomen are not called masters, but to their surname, men add goodman," and in law, they add yeoman. In our colony, the title of Mr. or Master, was applied to captains, and sometimes mates of vessels; to military captains; to eminent merchants; to schoolmasters, doctors, magistrates, and clergymen; to persons who had received a second degree at college, and who had been made freemen. The wives and daughters of masters, were called Mrs. To be deprived of the Mr. was considered a grievous loss of cast. An instance of this kind occurred in 1631, when the Court of Assistants took such a title from an individual for immoral conduct. Goodman was prefixed to the surnames of such as were not denominated masters. The help-meets of these persons were called goodwives. Such appellations were less frequent after 1650 than before. Both parties, in order that their example and titles might harmonize, must have felt bound to walk uprightly.

Another item lays claim to our attention. It refers to the admission of inhabitants. Salem authorities, like those of other ancient towns, were more strict, in this particular, under the first charter than subsequently. Some who applied for residence among them, were denied and warned away. Others were accepted on trial, on condition of bringing their wives from abroad, and of obtaining satisfactory credentials

as to their membership in churches, or good moral character. Fines were not unfrequently obtained of individuals, more hospitable than observant of legal restrictions, for entertaining strangers without leave from the municipal officers.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

The first of our proposed lists will contain names not found on the church records, down to 1651. For the convenience of noting particulars relative to individuals mentioned on the lists,—a collection far more laborious than entertaining to an entirely romantic taste,—some abbreviations will be employed. Namely, *a.* signifies arrived at Salem; *b.* resident here before the year given; *c. c.* came with Roger Conant; *c. e.* came with Mr. Eudicott; *c. f.* came in the fleet of 1629; *d. f.* desired to be freemen in 1630; *g. l.* granted land by Salem authorities; *g. l. c.* grant of land confirmed; *m.* mentioned as of this place; *m. c.* member of the first church; *m. f.* made freeman; *mr.* made freemen subsequent to the years standing on a line with the names, and *r. i.* received as inhabitants. The numerical years, to the right of the persons designated, are the dates when they are known, or appear to have begun their abode in this settlement. It is probable that not a few of them lived here before the time assigned to them as being of Salem. Had our town records given details of names prior to 1634, there would be less uncertainty on this point.

Abby, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Berry, Christopher	<i>m.</i>	1640
Adams, Richard	<i>m.</i>	1637	Best, John	<i>m.</i>	1638
Adams, Robert	<i>g. l.</i>	1638	Bixby, Thomas	<i>m.</i>	1636
Aimedoune, Roger	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Blancher, (widow)	<i>g. l. c.</i>	1638
Alford, Wm.	<i>mr.</i>	1635	Blomfield, Henry	<i>m.</i>	1638
Rabson, Isabel	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Buggust, John	<i>m.</i>	1630
Baker, Robert	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Bourne, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
Barber, Wm.	<i>g. l.</i>	1639	Bowditch, Wm.	<i>g. l.</i>	1643
Bartoll, John	<i>m.</i>	1648	Bowen, Thomas	<i>m.</i>	1648
Baxter, Daniel	<i>g. l.</i>	1639	Brand, Thomas	<i>c. f.</i>	1629
Bayley, Guydo	<i>g. l.</i>	1644	Brately, John	<i>m.</i>	1638
Bayley, Henry	<i>g. l.</i>	1638	Bridgeman, John	<i>m.</i>	1637
Beard, Thomas, Mr.	<i>c. f.</i>	1629	Brittall, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
Beaumont, John	<i>m.</i>	1640	Brown, Hugh	<i>c. e.</i>	1628
Beere, Philip	<i>g. l. c.</i>	1637	Brown, John	<i>c. f.</i>	1629
Belknap, Joseph	<i>m.</i>	1644	Brown, Samuel	<i>c. f.</i>	1629
Benian, Wm.	<i>m.</i>	1637	Bryan, (widow)	<i>g. l.</i>	1639
Bennet, Henry	<i>m.</i>	1630	Bryant, Thomas	<i>m.</i>	1642
Bennet, John	<i>m.</i>	1633	Buffum, Robert	<i>m.</i>	1638
Bennet, Richard	<i>g. l.</i>	1636	Bullock, Henry	<i>g. l.</i>	1643
Bennet, Wm.	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Burdet, George, Rev.	<i>g. l.</i>	1635

Burdaall, Henry	m. f.	1638	Dodge, William, Mr.	c. f.	1629
Burrows, John	g. l.	1637	Downing, Theophilus	g. l.	1643
Burstow, Anthony	m.	1637	Draper, Nicholas	g. l.	1637
Burton, John	g. l.	1637	Dresser, Samuel	m.	1638
Burwood, Thomas	m.	1640	Easty, Jeffry	g. l.	1637
Bushnell, John	g. l.	1637	Eborne, Samuel	g. l.	1639
Bushnell, Francis	m.	1639	Edes, William	c. f.	1629
Buxton, Anthony	g. l.	1637	Edmonds, James	c. f.	1629
Buxton, Thomas	m.	1639	Edson, Samuel	g. l.	1639
Canterbury, William	g. l.	1639	Edwards, Rice	g. l.	1643
Cary, Nicholas	g. l.	1637	Elford, John	m.	1636
Chadwell, Thomas	m.	1637	Elston, John	m.	1631
Charles, William	g. l.	1637	Ewstead, Richard	c. f.	1629
Chickering, Henry	g. l.	1640	Fairfield, Daniel	m.	1642
Chilsun, Walsingham	m.	1648	Farr, George	mr. c. f.	1629
Ching, George	g. l. c.	1638	Felton, Benj.*	mr. g. l.	1636
Chubb, Thomas	a.	1636	Fernis, Benjamin	m.	1640
Chusmore, Richard	m.	1636	Fisk, John	mr. g. l.	1637
Clark, Arthur	m. f.	1640	Flatman, Thomas	mr. g. l.	1637
Clark, William	mr. d. f.	1630	Flint, William	m.	1645
Claydon, Barnabas	c. f.	1629	Foote, Pascha	g. l.	1637
Claydon, Richard	c. f.	1629	Franklin, goodman	m.	1645
Clud, xondwife	m.	1647	Freeman,	mr. m.	1636
Cock, Richard,	m.	1645	Friend, John	mr. g. l.	1637
Codman, Robert	g. l.	1637	Fryar, Thomas	g. l.	1639
Coite, John	g. l. c.	1638	Fuller, Robert	mr. m.	1639
Colbourne, Samuel	g. l.	1637	Gally, John	g. l.	1637
Cole, Robert	mr. d. f.	1630	Gardner, John	g. l.	1643
Cole, Thomas	g. l.	1649	Gardner, Joseph	g. l.	1649
Collins, John	g. l.	1643	Gardner, Richard	g. l.	1643
Comyns, William	mr. g. l.	1637	Gardner, Samuel	g. l.	1649
Concklin, John	g. l.	1640	Gatchell, John	m.	1637
Conant, Roger, Jr.*	g. l.	1640	Gatchell, Samuel	g. l. c.	1638
Convers, Allen	mr. g. l.	1639	Gerry, Henry	m.	1648
Cook, Henry	g. l.	1634	Goldsmith, Thomas	g. l. b.	1643
Cornish, Samuel	g. l.	1637	Goodall, Robert	g. l.	1637
Cornish, Samuel, Jr.	m.	1638	Gott, Charles	mr. m. c. c. e.	1628
Cornhill, Samuel	m.	1641	Grafton, Joseph	g. l.	1637
Corwin, George	mr. m.	1638	Grafton, Joshua	m.	1649
Cory, Gyles	g. l.	1619	Granger, Bryan	m.	1637
Cotta, Robert	m. f.	1635	Graves, Richard	g. l.	1637
Cromwell, Philip	m.	1647	Graves, Thomas †	d. f. c. f.	1629
Curtis, Zachcus	g. l.	1646	Gray, Thomas †	c. c.	1626
Curwithen, David	m.	1614	Greenfield, Sannuel	g. l.	1637
Daliber, Joseph	g. l.	1640	Greenway, Richard	g. l.	1637
Daniels, Alice, Mrs.	g. l.	1637	Grover, Edward	m.	1633
Davis, Isaac	m.	1637	Guppy, Robert	m.	1647
Davis, William	g. l.	1639	Hackford, William	g. l.	1637
Devoreux, John	m.	1630	Haggett, Henry	g. l.	1642
Dike, Anthony	m. f.	1631	Hall, John	m.	1637
Dike, (widow)	m.	1639			
Dill, George	g. l.	1639			
Dixy, Thomas	g. l.	1637			

\* Son of Mrs. Ellen Felton.  
† Soon went to Charlestown.

\* Son of Mrs. Ellen Felton.

† Soon went to Charlestown.

‡ Supposed to be the owner of Nantasket in 1622.

\* The first born child in Salem.

Hanscombe, Thomas	c. f.	1629	Leech, John, Jr. *	g. l.	1637
Harbert, John	g. l.	1637	Leech, Robert	mr. g. l.	1637
Hardy, John	m. f.	1634	Leech, Richard	g. l.	1639
Hardy, John, Jr.	g. l.	1637	Leeds, Richard	mr. g. l.	1637
Harris, George	m.	1636	Legge, John	m. f.	1635
Harris, William	m.	1635	Linsey, Christopher	m.	1648
Haskell, Roger	g. l.	1637	Liston, Nicholas	g. l.	1637
Haughton, Henry	m. c. c. f.	1629	Lockwood, (Searjeant)	m.	1637
Haward, Richard	c. f.	1629	Lovell, Thomas	m.	1640
Hawkes, Thomas	m.	1648	Lovett, John	g. l.	1639
Hayward, Nicholas	g. l.	1643	Luff, John	g. l.	1637
Herson, Christopher	g. l.	1643	Lysford, John, Rev.	c. c.	1626
Hewlett, Mr.	m.	1636	Lyon, John	g. l.	1638
Higginson, F., Rev.	m. c. c. f.	1629	Malbon, John	c. f.	1629
Higginson, J. mr.	m. c. c. f.	1629	Manning,	m.	1631
Higgins, Alexand'r	mr. g. l.	1637	Mariott, Nichols	g. l.	1636
Hill, John	g. l.	1650	Marshall, William	g. l.	1638
Holliman, Ezekiel	g. l.	1637	Marston, William	g. l.	1637
Hollingworth, Richard	g. l.	1635	Mason, Emma (widow)	g. l.	1637
Hull, Joseph	m.	1637	Mason, Elias	g. l.	1649
Hulline, Obadiah	g. l.	1639	Miller, Sydrach	c. f.	1629
Huson, William	m.	1631	Moore, Ann †	g. l.	1637
Ingersoll, Richard	c. f.	1629	Moore, William	g. l.	1639
Ingersoll, George	g. l.	1639	Moulton, Robert	mr. c. f.	1629
Ingersoll, John	m.	1639	Mousar, John	g. l.	1639
Ingersoll, Nathaniel	m.	1644	Neal, John	m. f.	1642
Ingraham, Edward	g. l.	1638	Nichols, William	g. l.	1638
Isabell, Robert	g. l.	1637	Nicks, Matthew	g. l.	1639
James, Erasmus	g. l.	1637	Nixon, Matthew	g. l.	1639
James, Rosamond	g. l. c.	1638	Noddle, (William)	m. f.	1630
James, William	d. f. g. l.	1637	Norman, Richard	c. c.	1626
James, Thomas	g. l.	1638	Norman, Richard, Jr.	c. c.	1626
Jarrett, John	m. f.	1640	Norman, John	g. l.	1637
Jeffrey, William *	mr. b.	1628	Norris, Edward, Jr.	m.	1639
Jeggles, Daniel	g. l.	1639	Norton, John	m. f.	1637
Jeggles, Thomas	m.	1647	Oliver, Thomas	g. l.	1637
Johnson, Richard	g. l.	1637	Olney, Thomas	mr. g. l.	1637
Keene, William	g. l. c.	1638	Page, Robert	mr. g. l.	1637
Kelham, Austin	mr. g. l.	1637	Parminster, Benjamin	g. l.	1637
Knight, Walter †	c. c.	1626	Patch, Edmund	g. l.	1639
Knight, Ezekiel	g. l.	1637	Patch, James	g. l.	1650
Knight, William	g. l.	1637	Pattin, Thomas	g. l.	1643
Lambert, Richard	g. l.	1637	Pauly, Benjamin	m.	1647
Langford, John	m. f.	1645	Paine, Thomas	mr. g. l.	1637
Lathrop, Mark	g. l.	1643	Peach, John	m.	1630
Leavit, Capt.	m.	1630	Peas, John	g. l.	1637
Leech, John	g. l.	1637	Peas, Robert,	g. l.	1637
			Peirce, Anthony	m. f.	1634
			Peirce, William, Mr.	m.	1630
			Penny, Robert	g. l.	1638
			Percie, Marinaduke	g. l.	1637
			Perry, Francis	m.	1631

\* William Jeffrey probably occupied Jeffrey's Creek, now Manchester, before the arrival of Mr. Endicott.

† Walter Knight deposed in 1653, when he was 86, that Thomas Gray had received Naotasket by 1622, from Chickataubut, Sagamore of the Massachusetts Indians.

\* Was brother of Lawrence Leech.

† Widow of Thomas Mouro.



Perry, John	m.	1637	Smyth, George	g. l.	1635
Pester, William, Mr.	g. l.	1637	Smyth, James	g. l.	1635
Petford, Peter	m.	1641	Smyth, Matthew	g. l.	1637
Phillips, (John) Rev.	m.	1638	Smyth, (Samuel) <i>mr.</i>	g. l.	1637
Pickering, John	g. l.	1637	Smyth, Thomas <i>mr.</i>	g. l.	1637
Pickton, Thomas	g. l.	1639	Sprague, Ralph* <i>d. f.</i>	c. f.	1629
Pickworth, John	g. l.	1637	Sprague, Richard	c. f.	1629
Pitman, Nathaniel	g. l.	1639	Sprague, William	c. f.	1629
Pitman, Thomas	m.	1618	Stackhouse, Richard	g. l. c.	1638
Plaice, William*	g. l.	1637	Stacy, Hugh	g. l.	1640
Pollard, George	b.	1646	Stone, John	g. l.	1637
Porter, Nathaniel	m. f.	1637	Stratton, John <i>mr.</i>	g. l.	1637
Porter, George	m.	1647	Sweet, John	<i>mr.</i> m.	1631
Pride, John	g. l.	1637	Sweet, (widow)	g. l.	1637
Prince, Robert	g. l.	1649	Talby, John	m.	1635
Pryor, Matthew	g. l.	1638	Taylor, Thomas	r. i.	1637
Ray, Daniel	m. f.	1634	Temple, Abraham	g. l.	1637
Raymond, William	m.	1648	Temple, Richard	g. l.	1644
Reeves, John	g. l.	1643	Thatcher, Anihony	m.	1635
Reynolds, Henry	g. l.	1642	Thomas, John	m.	1646
Rickman, Isaac	c. f.	1629	Thomas, James	g. l.	1649
Ringe, Thomas	m.	1637	Thorndike, John <i>mr.</i>	m.	1633
Robins, Thomas	g. l.	1650	Throgmorton, John	m.	1639
Roots, Joshua	g. l.	1637	Thurston, Richard	g. l.	1637
Roots, Thomas	g. l.	1637	Thurston, John	g. l.	1640
Ropes, George	g. l.	1637	Tidd, Joshua	r. i.	1637
Rowland, Richard	m.	1648	Tillie, Hugh	c. f.	1629
Ruck, John	m.	1639	Tomkins, John <i>mr.</i>	g. l.	1637
Rumball, Daniel	g. l.	1644	Tompkins, Ralph	m. f.	1638
Russell, John	<i>mr.</i> m.	1638	Tompson, (widow)	b.	1638
Ryall, William	c. f.	1629	Tomson, Archibald	m.	1637
Sallowes, Michael	g. l.	1635	Townde, William	b.	1640
Sallowes, Benjamin	m.	1637	Tracie, Thomas	g. l.	1637
Sama, Thomas	g. l. c.	1638	Trew, Henry	g. l.	1649
Sandon, Arthur	g. l.	1639	Tuck, Thomas	g. l.	1637
Sawyer, William	g. l.	1643	Tuck, Robert	m. f.	1639
Scarlet, Benjamin	a.	1635	Tucker, John	m.	1644
Scarlet, Robert	m.	1635	Turland, Ann, Mrs. †	g. l.	1635
Scudder, Thomas	g. l.	1648	Turner, Charles	g. l.	1643
Scudder, William	g. l.	1650	Vanderwood, James	m.	1637
Seale, Edward	m.	1638	Vassal, William	m.	1640
Seares, Richard	g. l. c.	1638	Veriu, Joshua	g. l.	1635
Shepley, John	g. l.	1637	Vermaise, (Alice) wid'w	g. l.	1639
Silshy, Henry	g. l.	1639	Vicary, George	m.	1638
Simson, Francis	m.	1648	Wake, William, Mr.	g. l.	1637
Singletary, Richard <i>mr.</i>	r. i.	1637	Wakefield, John	g. l. c.	1638
Skelling, Thomas	g. l.	1643	Walcot, William, Mr.	g. l.	1637
Skellion, Samuel, Rev.	c. f.	1629	Walker, Richard	g. l.	1637
Skellion, Benjamin	m.	1639	Waller, Matthew	g. l.	1637
Skellion, Nathaniel	m.	1648	Waller, William	m.	1645
Small, John	g. l.	1643	Waller, Christopher	g. l.	1649
Smith, Edith (widow)	g. l.	1637			

\* Called "old Mr. William Plaice," in 1637.

\* The Messrs. Spragues soon went to Charlestown.

† Daughter of Jervas Garford.



Walton, Wm., Rev.	<i>g. l. c.</i>	1638	Whitehaire, Abraham	<i>m.</i>	1638
Ward, John, Mr.	<i>g. l.</i>	1641	Wickenden, William	<i>m.</i>	1639
Warren, Abraham	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Williams, Roger, Rev.	<i>m.</i>	1631
Warren, Ralph	<i>g. l. c.</i>	1638	Williams, William	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
Waterman, Richard	<i>c. f.</i>	1629	Wilson, Lambert, Dr.	<i>c. f.</i>	1620
Waters, Richard	<i>mr. g. l.</i>	1637	Wilson, Edward	<i>m.</i>	1647
Watkins, John	<i>a.</i>	1641	Wincoll, Thomas	<i>m.</i>	1631
Watson, John	<i>m. f.</i>	1633	Winthrop, John, Esq.	<i>g. l.</i>	1639
Webb, Francis	<i>c. f.</i>	1629	Winthrop, Stephen, Mr.	<i>g. l.</i>	1638
Webb, Henry	<i>mr. g. l.</i>	1637	Wood, William *	<i>g. l.</i>	1638
Webster, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1638	Woodbury, Nicholas	<i>g. l.</i>	1638
Weeks, Thomas	<i>r. i.</i>	1639	Wotes, Richard	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
Wescot, Stukely	<i>m.</i>	1636	Wright, George	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
West, Thomas	<i>g. l.</i>	1640	Young, Christopher	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
Weston, Francis	<i>m. f.</i>	1633	Young, Joseph	<i>g. l.</i>	1639
Wheaden, Robert	<i>g. l. c.</i>	1638	Young, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1640
Wheeler, Thomas	<i>m. f.</i>	1642			
White, James	<i>m.</i>	1633			
White, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1639			

\* William Wood, the historian, who first came over in 1628, may have been the person here noted.

In further showing the original settlers of Salem, it is deemed needful to adduce the members of the First Church, as found recorded, to 1651, though this place is not under the ecclesiastical head. Those of them who remained in 1636, when the record of them only was made, of course excluded all who had deceased or taken up their connection previously. The names of these, so far as known, are on the preceding list with *m. c.* subjoined. An alphabetical account of the members in 1636, will be given under that date, and so of others who united with them, under the successive years of their making a profession of religion. The years placed on a line with the names, refer to some particulars denoted by abbreviations used in the foregoing list.

1636.					
Alderman, Jane			Balch, John	<i>d. f. c. c.</i>	1626
Alford, Mary			Balch, Margery		
Allen, William	<i>d. f. c. c.</i>	1626	Barney, Jacob	<i>m. f.</i>	1634
Allen, Elizabeth			Batter, Edmund	<i>mr. g. l.</i>	1635
Archer, Samuel	<i>d. f.</i>	1630	Batter, Sarah		
Auger, William	<i>m. f.</i>	1631	Bishop, Townsend	<i>m. f.</i>	1635
Auger, Alice			Black, John	<i>m. f.</i>	1632
			Blackleach, John	<i>m. f.</i>	1635

Bownd, William	mr. g. l.	1637	Saunders, John	m. f.	1636
Bownd, Anne			Scruggs, Thomas	mr. c. e.	1628
Brackenbury, Rich'd	mr. c. e.	1628	Sharpe, Samuel	mr. c. f.	1629
Brackenbury, Ellen			Sharpe, Alice		
Bright, Margery			Sibly, John	mr. c. f.	1629
Conant, Roger	d. f.*	1626	Skarlet, Anne (widow)	g. l.	1637
Conant, Sarah			Stileman, Elias	mr. c. f.	1629
Cotta, Joanne			Trask, William	mr. c. e.	1628
Davenport, Richard	mr. c. e.	1628	Veren, Philip	m. f.	1635
Davenport, Elizabeth			Veren, Dorcas		
Dixy, William	c. f.	1629	Watson, Joanne		
Dixy, Anne			Williams, George	m. f.	1634
Eborn, Thomas	m. f.	1634	Wolfe, Peter	m. f.	1634
Ellerd, Gertrude			Wolfe, Martha		
Endicott, John	mr.	1628	Woodbury, John	d. f. c. c.	1626
Endicott, Elizabeth			Woodbury, Agnes		
Felton, Ellen	g. l.	1637			
Fogg, Ralph	m. f.	1634			
Fogg, Susannah					
Gardner, Thomas	mr. g. l.	1637			
Giles, Edward	m. f.	1634			
Herrick, Henry	d. f. c. f.	1629			
Herrick, Edith					
Holgrave, John	m. f.	1633			
Holgrave, Elizabeth					
Horn, John	m. f.	1631			
Horn, Ann					
Hutchinson, Alice					
Ingersoll, Anne					
Johnson, Francis	m. f.	1631			
Johnson, Joanne					
Kendall, Presca					
King, William	mr. g. l.	1637			
Laskin, Hugh	mr. g. l.	1636			
Lathrop, Thomas	m. f.	1634			
Leach, Lawrence	d. f. c. f.	1629			
Leach, Elizabeth					
Massey, Jeffrey	mr. m.	1631			
Maurie, Roger	m. f.	1631			
Moore, Samuel	m. f.	1632			
Moore, John	m. f.	1633			
Moore, Hannah					
Norton, George †	m. f.	1634			
Palfray Peter	d. f. c. c.	1626			
Palfray, Edith					
Pope, Joseph	m. f.	1637			
Rayment, Richard	m. f.	1634			
Rayment, Judith					
Reade, Thomas	mr. 'a.	1630			
Roots, Richard	m. f.	1637			

## 1637.

Alderman, John	mr. g. l.	1637
Amyes, Joan *	g. l.	1637
Banks, Lydia †		
Bartholomew, Henry	mr. a.	1635
Brayne, Agnes (widow)		
Brown, John	m. f.	1638
Brown, Ales		
Browning, Tho's	m. f. g. l.	1637
Garford, Ann		
Gedney, John	m. f. g. l.	1638
Geilney, Mary		
Goldthwait, Thomas	m. f.	1634
Goudwyne, Susannah		
Goose, William	mr. g. l.	1637
Hart, Mary		
Hathorn, William	mr. g. l.	1636
and wife.		
Holgrave, Joshua	g. l.	1636
Holme, Deborah		
Humphrey, John ‡	mr. g. l.	1636
Jeggles, Mary		
Lord, Abigail		
Marshall, Edmund	m. f. g. l.	1637
Marshall, Millesent		
Maverick, Moses	m. f.	1634
and wife.		
Moore, Ann (widow)		
Moulton, James	mr. g. l.	1637

\* In 1637, the General Court "gave £40 to Mrs. Ames, the widow of Doctor Ames, of famous memory."

† After being absent twenty-two years, she was dismissed, in 1664, to the church under the Rev. Mr. Nye, of London. In 1655, her land of 400 acres, called Plain Farm, was sold for £123.

‡ Mr. Humphrey was of Lynn in 1634.

\* R. Conant desired to be a freeman in 1630.

† A Mr. Norton was to embark for Salem in 1629.

FIRST SETTLERS.

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Norman, Arabella  
Norton, Mary  
Peters, Hugh, Rev. *g. l.* 1635  
Ray, Bethiah  
Robinson, Anne (widow)  
Robinson, Isabella  
Skerry, Francis *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Turner, Elizabeth *m.* 1636  
Williams, Eleazer *m.* 1635

1638.

Amyes, Ruth  
Avery, Thomas *m. f.* 1643  
Bachelder, Joseph *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Barney, Anna  
Blackleach, Elizabeth  
Burdall, Henry  
Downing, Emanuel *m. f. g. l.* 1638  
Downing, Lucy  
Hart, John *g. l.* 1637  
Hindes, James *g. l.* 1637  
Jackson, John *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Jackson, Margaret  
Marrit, Triphene  
Moulton, Mary  
Norman Arabella  
Pickworth, Ann  
Robinson, Wm. *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Shafflin, Michel *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Skerry, Henry *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Spooner, Thomas *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Spooner, Amy  
Standish, Sarah  
Symonds, John *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Symonds, Mary  
Venner, Thomas\* *mr. g. l.* 1637

1639.

Antrum, Thomas *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Barnardistone, Catherine  
Batchelder, John *mr. g. l.* 1639  
and wife.  
Batchelder, Mary  
Beachamp, Edw'd *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Bishop, Richard *mr. m.* 1635  
Concklin, Ananias *mr. g. l.* 1638  
Dixy, Catherine  
Dunton, Elizabeth  
Edwards

Fairfield, John *mr. g. l.* 1639  
Gardner, Tho's, Jr. *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Gardner, Margaret  
Garford, Jervas *mr. b.* 1635  
Gascoyne, Sarah  
Golt, William *g. l.* 1638  
Green, (widow) *g. l.* 1638  
Harbert, Mary  
Harnett, Sicilla  
Higginson, Francis *c. f.* 1629  
Holgrave, Lydia  
Holme, Obadiah *g. l.* 1639  
Holme, Catherino  
Kencstone, Dorothy, Mrs. *m.* 1636  
Kitcherill, Joseph *g. l.* 1639  
Lemon, Mary  
Lord, William *mr. g. l.* 1636  
Marsh, John *g. l.* 1637  
Moore, Thomas\* *mr. g. l.* 1636  
and his wife Martha *r. i.* 1636  
Norris, Edward, Rev. *g. l.* 1640  
Osborn, William *mr. g. l.* 1638

Page, Lucy  
Pease, (widow)  
Pickering, Elizabeth  
Porter, Mary  
Robinson, John *mr. g. l.* 1639  
Shafflin, Elizabeth  
Skarlet, Mary  
Southwick, Lawr'e *mr. g. l.* 1639  
and his wife Cassandra  
Standish, James *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Stephens, William *mr. m.* 1636  
Stileman, Elias, Jr. *m. f.* 1642  
Swan, Henry *mr. g. l.* 1639  
Swinerton, Job *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Swinerton, Elizabeth  
Tompson, Edmund *g. l.* 1637  
Trusler, Thomas *mr. g. l.* 1638  
Trusler, Eleanor  
Verinayes, Mark *mr. g. l.* 1638  
Ward, Miles *mr. g. l.* 1640  
Walker, Prescia  
Watson, Thomas *mr. g. l.* 1637  
Weeks, Alice  
Williams, Ann  
Woodbury, Wm. *mr. g. l.* 1637

1640.

Barber, goodwife  
Barnett, Alice

\* Son of widow Moore.

\* He was hung, drawn and quartered  
in London, 1661,—as a fifth monarchy  
man.



## FIRST SETTLERS.

175

Hathorn, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1643	Felton, Nathaniel	<i>c.</i>	1633
Kitchen, John	<i>mr. g. l.</i>	1643	Field, Alexander	<i>mr. g. l.</i>	1642
and wife Elizabeth			and wife.		
Peas, Robert	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Giles, Bridget		
Putnam, Eliza			Haines, William	<i>m.</i>	1644
White, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1639	Hardy, Joseph	<i>g. l.</i>	1644
			Jeggles, William	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
1644.			Leech, Sarah		
Bourne, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Leech, Sarah		
Dodge, Richard	<i>g. l.</i>	1638	Marsh, Susannah		
Hathorn, Sarah			Massey, Ellen		
Porter, Mary			Piggott, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1648
1645.			Porter, Unico		
Bishop, Edward	<i>m.</i>	1639	Prince, Mary		
Dodge, Elizabeth			Putnam, Elizabeth		
Skerry, Bridget			Putnam, Nathaniel	<i>m.</i>	1641
Vaile, Catherine			Rootes, Josiah		
			Stackhouse, Susannah		
1646.			Towne, goodwife		
Gascoyne * Edward	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Veren, Hilliard		
Grover, Margaret			Waller, Sarah		
Harnett, Edward, Jr.	<i>g. l.</i>	1639	Weston, John		
Hibberd, Robert			Wheeler, Mary		
and wife Joan			Woodbury, Humphrey	<i>m.</i>	1628
1647.			1649.		
Allerton, Isaac	<i>m.</i>	1633	Concklin, Elizabeth		
Charles, Sarah			Corwithin, David	<i>m.</i>	1648
Downing, Lucy, Jr.			Gardner, Hannah		
Ellenwood, Ralph	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Haynes, Sarah		
Hutchinson, Richard	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Pope, Gertrude		
Loofs, Bridget			Porter, John	<i>mr. m.</i>	1643
Mason, Jane			Read, Mary		
Montague, Abigail			Scudder, Rachel		
Neal, Mary			1650.		
Neave, (widow)			Bridgman, Elizabeth		
Putnam, John	<i>mr. g. l.</i>	1641	Chichester, Mary		
Scudder, John	<i>g. l.</i>	1642	Cole, Ann		
and wife.			Cooper, Rebeckah		
Smith, Ralph			Curtis, Sarah		
Veren, Mary			Felmingham, Francis	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
1648.			Gray, Elizabeth		
Brown, William	<i>m. f.</i>	1649	Hardy, goodwife		
and wife Sarah			Lovett, Mary		
Dickerson, Mary			Maskall, Ellen		
Eborne, Catharine			Moore, Christian		
Ellenwood, goodwife			Morgan, Robert	<i>g. l.</i>	1637
Emory, George, Doct.	<i>g. l.</i>	1637	Pacy, Nicholas	<i>g. l.</i>	1639
			Patch * Nicholas	<i>g. l.</i>	1639
			Payne, Elizabeth	<i>g. l.</i>	1640

\* Sometimes called Caskell.

\* A Patch family was in Salem as early as 1629.

Payne, William	m. f. 1650	Vincent, William	mr. m. 1635
Rix, Thomas		and wife.	
Smith, Mary		Woodbury, Hugh	
Southwick, Mary			

## COMMON LANDS.

Such estate of any communities, in their early settlement, as well as in later periods, holds a high place among their chief dependences. As cultivated on the sea-board, or in its vicinity, it is the right arm of fisheries, commerce, manufactures, education, and arts. So thought and acted the wise and pious counsellors, who, in troublous times, laid the foundations of New England. As a prominent part of this wilderness domain, once denominated North Virginia, the whole soil of Massachusetts, as chartered to its patentees, was accounted their common propriety. Such territory was adopted by this Body, as a principal constituent of the basis, on which they made their judicious calculations, though not wholly realized, to meet the charges of planting our shores with a population, sifted and purified by the trials of persecution. For the proper disposal of their landed domain, they deliberately and prayerfully passed and published several <sup>1</sup>resolutions. These they held as essentially binding on themselves and successors so long as their Patent should continue. In proof of this position, various applications were made to our Legislature, prior to the usurpation of James II., for the granting of lands as a liquidation of sums, advanced in England to promote the commencement of our Commonwealth. A number of them was allowed,

<sup>1</sup> See them on pages 95—97 of this work.



while others were rejected. Of the latter class was one from Francis Johnson, an early and respectable settler of Salem, afterwards of Marblehead. In 1660, he petitioned that for £50, placed in the common stock by his uncle, Christopher Coulson, deceased, he might have a corresponding quantity of land. But as he had only a verbal order, and this of 22 years standing, his request was disallowed.

The principles, laid down by the Company in London, were recognized by our colonial and municipal authorities, in relation to territory, with such variations, as the necessity of subsequent periods required. Such conformity answers the inquiry, why some settlers of Salem were granted two, three, four, and even five hundred acres—while others received less quantities. The planters under Mr. Conant had certain lots for cultivation. So did the emigrants under Mr. Endicott. But a fuller distribution was afterwards made in reference to these two classes, and others, who came to share in the perils and toils of a new country.

As one specimen of the jurisdiction that our government exercised over the soil, about which there were conflicting claims, the following is presented. The Court of Assistants ordered, July 5, 1631, that all islands within their limits, should belong to the Colony. Among the islands named on this occasion, was Conant's, afterwards Governor's Island. The former name denotes, that the earliest leader of the settlers in Salem, may have been its previous owner. The order, thus cited, is also adduced to show the ground, on which the Legislature subsequently voted

to our ancestors their principal islands. As another sample of the mode in which our colonial authorities applied the rules of the Company, we have the ensuing items. It is, also, given for the sake of keeping in remembrance some Indian names, too many of which have been suffered to sink in oblivion.

"1632. July 3. There is a necke of land lyeing aboute 3 myles from Salem, cont. about 300 ac. of land graunted to Capt. Jo: Endicott to enioy to him and his heires foreuer called in the Indean tonge Wahquamesehcok, in English Birchwood, bounded on the Southside with a ryvere call in the Indean tonge Soewampenessett, comonly called the Cowe howse ryver, bounded on the North side with a ryver called in the Indean tongue Conamabsqnooncant, comonly called the Ducke ryver, bounded on the East with a ryver leadeing vpp to the 2 former ryvers, which is called in the Indean tongue Orkhussunt, otherwise knownen by the name of Wooleston ryver, bounded on the West with the maine land."

"There is another necke of land lyeing aboute 3 myles from Salem cont. aboute 200 ac. graunted to Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Skelton to enioy to him and his heires for euer, called by the Indeans Wahquack, bounded on the South vpon a little ryver, called by the Indeans Conamabsqnooncant, vpon the North abutting on another ryver called by the Indeans Ponomenneuhcant, and on the east on the same ryver."

These places, so assigned, suggest various interesting reminiscences. Particularly is it so with the allottment to Mr. Endicott. Among his hired men was Edward Grover. This individual testified in 1678, that the farm was formerly called Orchard.

So signifies an extract from a letter of its owner to Governor Winthrop, 1643-4, which reads thus:—  
“The maid is now going along with vs to Orchard, where your sonne shall be heartilie welcome.” It would not be the strangest phantasy to suppose, that there was more than common sympathy between the affections of the youthful couple so introduced. Grover further deposed relative to the farm, that, in 1633, I “did helpe to cut and cleaue about 7,000 pallisadoes and was the first that made improvements thereof by breaking vp of ground and plantinge of Indian corne.” Such evidence, with the date of the grant, goes to confirm the position, that the soil was not cultivated till about the last date. This indicates rather than otherwise, that no fruit trees were previously planted there. Here, then, the question occurs, how shall we meet other conflicting testimony concerning the noted Pear Tree? An unbroken tradition of Governor Endicott’s descendants affirms, that this last survivor of the orchard, planted in his day, was brought over with his dial in 1630. This is not unlikely. So imported in the shoot, and not in the seed, the tree may have found a place on the premises of his town residence. But there is another supposition, that, since transported, it has occupied only a single spot. Against the probability of this, is the time of the land’s being granted and cultivated. That so venerable a relic of antiquity—which is fast yielding to the pressure of years, and ere long must mingle with the dust, like the many, who have looked on its verdure, been cooled by its shade, and refreshed with its fruit—may not be forgotten as to its present appearance, the succeeding impression is given.



Before paying our cordial and parting respects to this aged inhabitant of our soil, regard for information of the stranger requires us to state, that, in 1757, it became a tenant of Danvers, then set off from us and incorporated. Whoever hears, as well as "sees tongues in trees," may derive a moral from the steady compliance of this representative of other ages with the end of its creation and continuance, which teaches him so to discharge his obligations, that reflection may hang the rich fruits of usefulness around the autumn of his life, and shed its peaceful rays on his passage to the tomb.

In passing, with regret, from so attractive a point, we come to one use of the common soil. This was much employed for grazing. Nor was this alone so occupied by our early planters. William Trask deposed, that he, John Balch and others had leave, in 1632, from Thomas Dexter, one of the purchasers of Nahant from Black William, to put their cattle on that romantic island.

As having an important reference to the estates of Salem and other towns, the succeeding orders of the

Assistant Court, April 1, 1634, are here given. "It is ordered, that if any man, that hath any greate quantitie of land graunted him and dóeth not build upon it or improue it within three yeares, it shalbe free for the Court to dispose of it to whome they please;" that the constable and four other chief inhabitants of every Town, do make a record of all houses and lands improved, enclosed or granted by the Court, belonging to freemen, and a transcript thereof to be lodged with the Court, which "shalbe a sufficient assurance to euery such free inhabitant, his and their heires and assignes of such estate of inheritance, or as they haue in any such howses, lands, or franke tenements." From the disposition of common lands by our colonial government, we turn to that of our town authorities. The first notice of so absorbing a subject in all newly settled communities, as found in our records, is of Jan. 9, 1635. It runs thus: "After discourse about deviding of 10 acre lotts, its ordered, that the least family shall haue 10 acres, but great familyes may haue more." The reason of this assignment is obviously just. The subsequent regulation of Aug. 22, led to the recording of each man's grant on the town books. "It is ordered, that all the inhabitants of this towne of Salem y<sup>t</sup> haue fearmes greater or lesse, or any quantitye of land granted to them, or any ten acre lott medoes or marshes, be they more or lesse in quantity, shall repaire to the men appoynted to lay out bounds, and by the last of y<sup>e</sup> 3 mo. to haue all y<sup>r</sup> ten acre lots bounded, and all other that haue fearmes, or meadoes, or marshes, by y<sup>e</sup> first of y<sup>e</sup> 9 mo. next ensueing, and all y<sup>r</sup> land being bounded, to make such marks or bounds either by

staues or deepe holes. And that euerie man's bounds may be recorded vpon y<sup>e</sup> penaltie of x<sup>s</sup>, provided that those deputed to lay out bounds, be paid for y<sup>e</sup> paines." For the labor of laying out lands, the price was set, Nov. 16, at 4<sup>d</sup> an acre for small lots, and 10/ a hundred for large lots. Among the most interesting assignments of soil, were 1,000 acres, Jan. 25, 1635-6, to John Balch, Roger Conant, Peter Palfrey, William Trask, and John Woodbury. This land lay in what afterwards became Beverly, extended from the head of Bass river, and ran by "the great pond" mostly in Wenham. It was divided among the grantees in farms of 200 acres each. It was an additional compensation to a portion of the primitive planters here, for their large share of toils incident to the founding of this community, and of disappointment in having the Dorchester interest transferred to the Massachusetts Company. It was a tangible earnest of the benevolent concern which the latter body professed to cherish for them. The amount of grants recorded together 1636-7, was 8,930 acres. A condition on which various appropriations of this kind were made, was, that the grantees, if about to dispose of them, should make the first proposals of sale to the town. The freemen who had disposed of commons by vote in general session, delegated their power, in this respect, to the Selectmen, who continued to exercise it till 1664-5, when, by order of the former, it was returned to them. In accordance with a trust so committed, the Selectmen adopted the ensuing rule of Dec. 4, 1637, which occasioned a valuable account of every father and the number of his family, within the limits of our settlement. "It is agreed that the marshe and



meadow lands that haue formerly laid in common to the towne, shalbe appropriated to the inhabitants of Salem, proportioned out vnto them according to the heads of y<sup>r</sup> families. To those y<sup>t</sup> haue y<sup>e</sup> greatest number, an acre thereof; and to those that haue least, not above half an acre thereof; and to those that are betwene both, 3 quarters of an acre. Alwayes provided and it is soe agreed, that none shall sell away y<sup>r</sup> proportion of meadow, more or lesse, nor lease them out to any above 3 yeares, vnless they sell or lease out y<sup>r</sup> howses with their meadow." According to this agreement, there were various appropriations. Of them, five acres were voted, June 25, 1638, to Charles Gott and John Horne, which was long since called the Deacon's Marsh. Its location is in South Fields, near Castle Hill. Circumstances have thrown around it more than ordinary interest, while many other lots of even greater worth have been forgotten. This is an emblem of distinctions and neglects, which have often betided multitudes of our race. Such land was in question between the First Church and what is now called the Tabernacle Church, from 1735 to 1762. An amicable adjustment was made by paying to the latter £13: 6: 8, for their proportion of the Deacon's Marsh. Thus entirely under the control of the First Church, it was steadily improved till the rail-road ran through it and occupied two acres. Compensation of \$212, clear of charges, was allowed for such damage. In all probability, it will never undergo another so remarkable a change, from being a sequestered spot, to the affording of a way for the daily developments of human genius in the experiments of steam travelling.

## FIELDS.

Among the divisions of our once common territory, which invite a casual notice, were certain Fields. In 1640, there were ten of these partitions. They were occupied for planting and grazing. Each of them had been allotted by our municipal authorities, to individuals in different sections of the town, who had them severally enclosed. By the same authorities, surveyors were designated to have the fences kept in good order, and thus prevent the disturbance of peaceful neighborhoods by intruding animals. As there had been much difficulty among the owners of such territory in various towns, as to the mode of improving it, General Court ordered, in 1643, that when they could not agree how to cultivate and have it for grazing, the Selectmen, and, if none of these officers, the Freemen should decide. Among the appropriations of this sort in Salem, was the North Field, found so denominated in 1642. As well known to those acquainted with our localities, it is situated on the north side of Naumkeag river. It contained 490 acres. It embraces what has long been termed the Horse Pasture, of much less area than its namesake, formerly of the Great Pasture. At the time last mentioned, as the deposition of Nathaniel Felton signifies, the proprietors decided to have it protected by a four-rail fence from the head of Cowhouse river to the head of North river. Six or seven years afterwards, they agreed to have the fence divided to each share of ten acres, containing the carved initials of the owner's name. Though the possessors of this Field had power to make regulations for its concerns,

yet, by a town vote of 1683-4, they were of no force unless sanctioned by the Selectmen. This section adds much to the attractive view of our city. Of its rural and pleasant resorts in the season of verdure, is the part called Paradise. It is remembered as the position to which a British force under Col. Leslie, in 1775, directed their march in order to seize some artillery. While they were held in check at the bridge, then belonging to owners of lots on the Field side, the Colonel protested against the hindrance, and asked why he was not allowed to advance in the King's highway. A Mr. Barr replied, this is not the King's highway, but the way of proprietors. Though the bridge, on this stirring occasion, had not ceased to be a propriety, the Field to which it led, had so ceased about a quarter of a century.

Another similar division was South Field. Our records mention it by such a name, 1643-4. Lying between Forest and South rivers, it measures 600 acres. It presents some of the most attractive scenery, and affords some of the pleasantest prospects within the bounds of Salem. It is truly a very desirable suburb. Prior to 1666, there was a gate-path through it from Marblehead to this place. In 1673, the proprietors received a hill, near John Holmes's, from the town, as compensation for the widening of such a way. As a specimen of business which came before them at their meetings, the ensuing vote of 1702-3 is presented. "On the 14th of October the proprietors haue liberty to put into the Field, that is to say, 6 coves, or 4 oxen, or 3 horses, or 12 yearlings, or 24 calves to ten acres of land, and noe proprietors shall

cut there Indian corn stolks after they gether there corn." Not only, as this intimates, were creatures fed there in the fall, but a portion of land was also used for them in the grazing season. Their gates, convenient for travellers, were kept up, one towards Forest river, and another at South Mills, after 1714. Other gates were continued till their dissolution. They closed their association soon after 1742, when a meeting was called "to see if the Proprietors will dissolve the Body as a propriety." Thus they gave opportunity for individual talent and industry to improve the inheritance derived from their municipal ancestors. Only one more of such divisions will be particularly designated. This is the Glass-house Field. It was so named from the following allotments. In 1639, there were two acres set off for each of the persons, Ananias Concklin, Obadiah Holmes, and Lawrence Southwick, and thus were "granted to the glassemen seuerall acres of ground adioyning to their howses." The next year, five acres more, bordering on these lots, were appropriated to John Concklin, of the same occupation. Such apportionments made up the section, which, on our town records of 1661, is called Glass-house Field. Here glass was manufactured for a considerable period. This place was located on the commons connected with the Horse Pasture, and in the neighborhood of what is now termed Aborn street. It appears on a plan of Great Pasture, as drafted in 1723. It has passed through the hands of various individuals, as private property. Once regarded as a situation of consequence for aiding to promote the manufacturing interests of an infant Commonwealth, it has long

descended to a level with its adjoining territory, and its title only remains to give it more than an ordinary remembrance.

Turning to the track of the common soil, we notice a vote of 1641, on our town records, relative to Marblehead. It allowed, that they might grant lots adjoining their district and formerly assigned to others, by the consent of one of the Salem Selectmen. With regard to the price of land, it was sold, in 1643, for 5/ an acre, in the principal part of this town ; and in 1645, on the outskirts and being unimproved, for 1/ an acre ; and a farm of 100 acres, previously of the commons and adjacent to Spring pond, was exchanged, in 1656, by William Trask, for a cow valued at £5. In the exercise of discretionary power, as justified by practice of the colonial authorities, Salem granted lots of different measurement, for special reasons. Among these was one to Mr. William Hathorne, 1638, "in consideracon of his many imployments for towne and countrie." Another was in 1639-40, to a son of Roger Conant, as the "first borne childe in Salem." With regard to modes of conveying landed estate, originally of the commons, there was one, which, however simple, was very interesting from its being a relic of ancient usage. In 1695, John Ruck, one of our respectable inhabitants, in granting a homestead to his son, Thomas, before witnesses, took hold of a twig in the garden and said, "Here, son Thomas, I do, before these two men, give you possession of this land by turffe and twigg." Palgrave, in his English Commonwealth, remarks on such a custom, "Even after writing became known, the deed or record was often only col-

lateral to the form and ceremony." To illustrate this observation, he relates a story in the life of St. Birlanda. "The unkind maiden refused to consort with her leprous father. Oidelardus revenged himself by disinheriting the undutiful child, and transferred all his domains, with all the villains thereupon, to St. Gertrude, by placing all the symbols of property upon her shrine, a turf, a twig, and a knife, indicating that all his estate was alienated to the monastery." That the ceremony of Mr. Ruck was no strange thing in Essex County, we have the fact of a like conveyance, made at Bradford in 1700, by a descendant of the Agawam Sagamore.

As a relief to this and other of our oldest towns who were apprehensive, lest they should have a troublesome excess of claimants to their soil, General Court enacted, 1660, that no cottage or dwelling house should be admitted to the privilege of commonage, "but such as already are in being or hereafter shall be erected by consent of the town." This law was confirmed in 1692, so that no dwellings, except those before 1661, could have any such claim, unless they had been or might be allowed it by municipal authority.

In 1678, the commoners began to break away from restraints of the town, as to the regulation of their territory. This, like every such innovation upon common practice, raised up its advocates and opponents,—some who plead for it on principles of right and liberty; others, who construed it as a dark omen of misrule, contention and injury. The commoners instructed Thomas Oliver to notify all of their class according to law of 1660, to assemble for the trans-



action of business. The Selectmen positively forbid such a meeting as disorderly. During the same year of such difficulty, an application being made to this town by Beverly and Wenham, for an enlargement of their bounds, the answer was, "Salem has already granted away so much land, they cannot spare any more without much straitening themselves." Still, however good their reasons for this denial, they continued to give and sell lots occasionally, though with much less frequency than prior to 1664. In the year of the collision above-mentioned, fields of considerable extent were leased to companies, part of whom paid 7*d* an acre per annum. Perceiving that it would be for their greater harmony and advancement to extend the advantage of sharing in the unappropriated soil, our fathers, in 1702, passed the ensuing order. "For y<sup>e</sup> incouragement and growth of this town, that all freeholders of this town, viz. every one y<sup>t</sup> hath a dwelling house and land of his own proper estate in fee simple, shall have and is hereby admitted unto y<sup>e</sup> priviledge of commonage." Conformably to this and previous rules adopted by the inhabitants here, they chose, March 12, 1711, a committee to ascertain the number of legal comimoners. A report was made, which they rejected the next October. Notwithstanding impediments of this kind, the commoners organized, June 29, 1713, and admitted Messrs. Joseph Green, Benjamin Prescott, and Samuel Marble, as members of their body. However thus assuming the control of their particular affairs, they did not ungratefully forget the origin of their existence, nor the means of exercising their power. They voted,

the succeeding Nov. 16th, that the highways, burying places and common lands within the town bridge and the block houses, at neck gate, should belong forever to the town. Still disposed to exhibit a generous policy, they agreed, Nov. 22, 1714, that every dwelling house, erected from 1702 to this time, should be entitled to a right in the commons. To be prepared for incidental claims, they reserved 400 acres at Dog Pond rocks. But what more particularly marked their benevolent intentions, were the subsequent grants. Five acres for the ministry of the village; the same for the middle or Brooksby precinct; ten for a like purpose in the two lower parishes, to which five more in 1722-3 were added, so that the First Church might have ten; and sixty acres for the poor and others who were not commoners. These appropriations were located, one above the other, on the left of the old Boston road, as you go to Poole's bridge, and between Glass-house Field and the Sheep Pasture. The East Parish lot was sold in 1822 for \$146. That of the First Parish was disposed of in 1819 for \$565. This sum was added to the fund for supporting their ministry, except enough of its income to purchase twenty bushels of potatoes annually for the clergyman then their pastor, which had been the amount of its rent. Thus have these meinentos of the old parsonage system ceased, and afforded another lesson of the mutations induced upon society by the change of opinions, conveniences and practices. With reference to the charitable land of sixty acres, it was let according to circumstances. In 1732, five rights were used without price, and the rest at 15/ each. It was sold by the town in 1834, for \$600. This was

a justifiable sale, as ample and judicious provision had been made to support the impoverished, for whose aid it was originally intended. When the commoners made the preceding donations, they voted that the town should retain the Neck for pasturage, and Winter Island for fishery. These two divisions have undergone more than usual alteration in the uses to which they have been applied. The Neck was occupied by some of our earliest inhabitants at a place called Watertown, on the point of rocks, and at another on Abbot's Cove. Their chief business was to carry on the fishery. Ornamented with a natural growth of trees, the Neck was employed for grazing. An ancient record, of 1635, says, "Its agreed that the townes neck of land shalbe preserved to feed the cattle on the Lords dayes, and therefore particular men shall not feed theire goates there at other tymes, but bring them to the (hill), that grasse may grow against the Lords dayes." Here, lots were granted to individuals in 1637, for buildings and the fishing trade. To prevent the depredation of animals, it was voted, 1644, "that the doggs at Winter Neck shall be tyed vp in the day tyme, and if any doggs there spoile fish, that they shall either be sent away or killed." This place appears to have had a water course made through it for expeditious communication with Winter Island. In 1667, "voated that the passage that was cut vppon the neck to goe over to Winter Iland, is to be stopped, and a sufficient waye to be made over to the Iland." Before 1677, it had supplied the inhabitants with clay, when only the hither part of it was ordered to be for such accommodation. A vote passed 1690, that the lower part of it, "below Ram's horne

coue, may be planted by some poor persons." In the same year, the land formerly belonging to Richard Hollingworth, was ordered to be laid out. As he was a noted ship carpenter, it is likely that he built and launched vessels from this spot, now in possession of the Hathorne family. It was voted, 1702, "that no sheep shall go or be kept on y<sup>e</sup> towns neck of land beyond or to y<sup>e</sup> eastward of y<sup>e</sup> block housen, on y<sup>e</sup> penalty of 6*d* per sheep to him y<sup>t</sup> takes them up and impounds them for each time." In 1728, the Neck contained above 102 acres, exclusive of Col. John Higginson's pasture of over 23 acres, besides about 20 acres of other land. It then allowed 2½ acres for a cow, and 4 acres for a horse. The former was assessed 20/, and the latter 32/ a season. For that year, 30 cows and 12 horses were fed there and in Higginson's, or, as previously called, Abbot's pasture. Benjamin Ives, having recently bought the latter property, proposed, in 1730, to hire about two acres towards Watch-house Point. His request was allowed, the next year, to continue a century. He offered, in 1739, to exchange Pignal's or Roache's Point for an equivalent at the Point before named. The town agreed to allow him, on such an offer, two acres for three. On Roache's Point, a Pest-house was ordered, 1747, to be erected. As to its martial applications, the Neck, in 1758, had long been guarded by two block-houses, at the gate, and another at Watch-house Point. Besides these defences, it had a Fort on its heights, called new, to distinguish it from the old one on Winter Island, and reconstructed in the last war with England. In 1765, the town Treasurer was instructed to let this Island and the

Neck together, as they had been, for 72 milch cows at 10/8 each; but, if he had not so many applied for, to admit riding horses at 21/4 apiece. A lease was granted, in 1799, for a Rope Walk on the upper part of the Neck. Like a patient beast of burden, subject to varieties of carriage, this portion of our public soil was ordered, in 1805, to have no more bricks made within its limits. The same year, an ineffectual exertion was made on the petition of John Baker and others, to sell a portion of its western soil for the purpose of erecting houses. Among its multifarious accommodations, it supplied the inhabitants with large quantities of rock for building, and so continued till enclosed for agriculture. In the last contest with Great Britain, commencing 1812, a lot on the hither end was appropriated for an artillery deposit of the United States, which still remains, a sad proof that human benevolence is far from having reached the highest point of its destination. But while there was unhappy occasion for such care, our townsmen gave evidence that there was a redeeming influence among them, which, though unable to sheathe the sword of nations, could provide a more convenient and hopeful abode for their poor. On the premises of the old Pest-house, where lie the silent remains of many a respectable tenant, swept away by contagious disease, they erected an Alms-house in 1815, and connected with it the larger portion of the Neck, for agricultural purposes. The former establishment had been discontinued, except for indigent families, and another prepared in 1799, on the north-east point. A small portion of the Neck is still employed in conformity with its ancient use, for the pasturage of cattle.

Thus have we looked at some details of a donation from the commoners, which may serve to aid the mind as it roves back and compares the present with the past aspect of our suburbs. From the Neck, we pass to Winter Island. The caption of a request presented a century and nearly a half since, ran thus : "Whereas Winter Island hath been improved for y<sup>e</sup> making of fish ever since y<sup>e</sup> first settlement of this towne." This shows us again the great purpose as well as the occupancy of the place. Another use of it, as tradition relates, was ship-building. In 1636 and the succeeding year, lots were granted there for the fishery. For the preventing of injury to the fish, made on it, an order passed, 1640, for its enclosure, "vnless such as haue goats doe fence in the flaks." In 1644, Capt. Thomas Breadcake was permitted by General Court, to take two small guns from "Winter Island by Salem," for his cruise against Turkish pirates. In 1645, a way thither was ordered to be made. Its income was applied in 1655, to support the Fort there. Permission was given, 1669, to have it secured "from all cattell, except sheep and wenlinge calves, which shall haue liberty to goe ther at any tyme." So many were the people here in 1679, that John Clifford was licensed to keep a victualling house for their convenience. This may have been the origin of the "Old Blue Anchor Tavern," famed in traditionary story. In 1684, several merchants had leave to build wharves on its flats. The ensuing year, it was recorded, "The Selectmen to decide any difference that may arise between aney persons concerned at Winter Island in pitching of flackes, setting of presses, houses, etc., by which means they obstruct

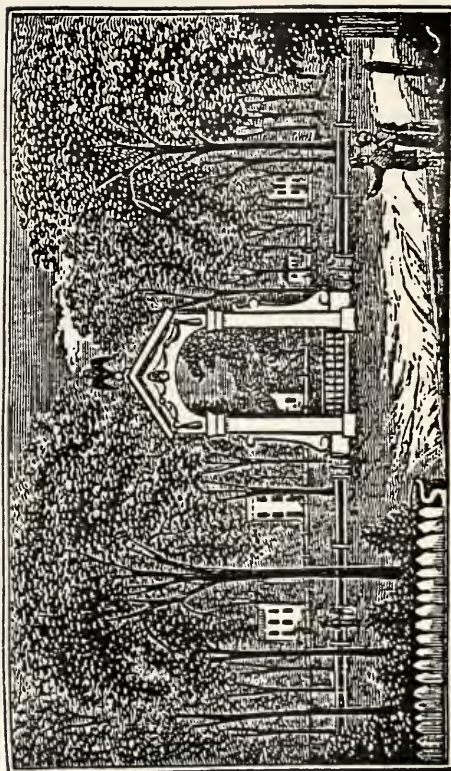


each other in their fishing concerns there." In 1698-9, the Island had not merely its paths, but even a highway, as the description of a wharf implied, "adjoyning to y<sup>e</sup> place known by y<sup>e</sup> name of Fish Street." The following order was made in 1701: "that y<sup>e</sup> shoremen shall have liberty to fence in Winter Island, keeping a sufficient gate for passing of men and carts, and to keep out all creatures y<sup>t</sup> may damnifie y<sup>e</sup> flakes and fish." Conditions of its being granted by the commoners, 1714, were, that each shoreman, who belonged to the town and did his business there, should pay 5/ a year for room to accommodate his vessel and flakes, and every person, not an inhabitant, similarly employed there, should be charged 20/ for the same privilege. From a contract made in 1731, the Island had convenient places for forty vessels and their fares of fish. As the business previously transacted there had been removed, it was let, 1739, with the Neck, for the pasturage of horses and cows; the former at 40/ each, and the latter at 25/. A part of it, called Obear, or Palmer's Head, was leased, 1755, to Richard Derby, for 1,000 years, at 1/ a year. One object, as his application for this relates, was not merely to benefit himself, but also to improve the commerce of the town. While our relations to France were threatened with a rupture, a vote passed, 1794, that the Selectmen cede to the United States the land where the old Fort stood, and as much more on the Neck and Island as might be needed for fortifications. In 1799, the ship Essex, of 32 guns, built by order of Congress, was launched from this place, and then first floated on the element where she was to win naval renown. The lease to

Mr. Derby has curiously terminated. Where his wharf and warehouse long stood, there appears an establishment for the storing of powder. This was bought by Mr. Oliver M. Whipple, who occupies it with the proceeds of the Chelmsford Powder Factory. Having purchased of the Derby family, their right in the premises, for several hundred dollars, a few years before, he in 1839, paid Salem \$152 83, being an annual rent of 1/ for the period remaining of the 1,000 years. Here close the remembrances of an Island which has witnessed no trivial revolutions in human purposes and pursuits. Like the adjacent Neck, it has long ceased to be traversed by the busy crews and companies who cured their fish upon its soil.

A few days after their last gift, the commoners, on 16th of November, 1714, voted, that the spot "where the trainings are generally kept, before Nathaniel Higginson's house, shall be forever as a training field for the use of Salem." The measurement of this lot, in 1784, was  $7\frac{3}{4}$  acres. As this was less by three-quarters of an acre, than its present estimate, there is a probability that an allowance was made for water in its hollows. Down to 1770, portions of it were leased for various buildings. Then it gave room, on its northern bounds, for a new Alms and Work-house. Liberty was granted, in 1793, for land connected with the east part of the common, to be enclosed with the cove, for the building and accommodation of a wind-mill. During the same year, a section of this military field, lying south of a street laid out by Nathaniel Richardson, was ordered to be sold. Its surface now wears a very different aspect from what it did prior to 1801. Then it had quite a rural appearance, having





Western View of Washington Square in 1833.

several ponds and hillocks. Among the former, were Flag, Cheever's, and Mason's ponds. Of incumbrances on the mall, were buildings for a public school, a fire engine, and artillery. Towards the close of the year, last mentioned, a number of our generously disposed inhabitants applied to the town for leave to have it levelled at their own charge. The request was allowed. The work was energetically advanced and well done the ensuing Spring. It was under the superintendence of General Elias Hasket Derby, who gave his services, and a large portion of its pecuniary cost. There were elevations, on the premises, sufficient to fill the hollows. The expense of evening the surface was about \$2,500. At the same time trees, chiefly poplar, were planted on each side of the walks, which were taken up, 1817, and their places supplied by elms. So changed, the common was called, by order of the selectmen, 1802, Washington Square. In 1805, contributions were made by individuals and the town, for the erection of its eastern and western gates. Being designed, arched, and ornamented by Mr. Samuel McIntire, a noted architect, they do much to honor his taste. A contract was made, 1817, for a substantial railing to succeed the one which had enclosed the mall. Thus altered, this portion of the common lands adds much to the worth and beauty of its environs. It confers an obligation on this community, to remember the promoters of its improvement with sentiments of esteem.

Returning to the position of the Commoners, we find them disturbed in their progress by demands of

the old cottagers. This class of our population based their claim on the rights of cottages built before 1661. They considered themselves as more entitled to the undivided territory than others, who erected dwellings here after that time. Charges were paid by the commoners, in 1714, for a lawsuit with them, on account of such discrepancy. While the former were so troubled, they had renewed evidence, that all around them were not so honest as they should be. They order prosecutions for the cutting and carrying away of wood and timber from their land. As before, so afterwards, such measures were not wholly effectual. Besides, the commoners were often called to notice, from an early period, that individuals made too broad a distinction between *mine* and *thine*. A singular record is preserved, to this import, showing a prevalent fashion as well as a public vigilance. Aug. 21, 1637, "John Gatchell is fyned tenn shillings for bordering vpon the Towne ground without leaue. And, in case he shall cutt of his lonng har of his head into a seuill frame in the mean time, shall haue abated five shillings of his fine."

The lack of harmony between the commoners and cottagers continued to 1716. Each party had its separate meetings, officers, and policy. The cottagers proposed, May 23, to unite with the town for the choice of referees, who belonged to the county, to settle their difficulties; but the majority of voters, on the 25th, did not consent. Thereupon the selectmen, on the 30th, petitioned General Court to interpose and prevent the alarming evils of so warm a contest. How such an application was received, is not left recorded. The controversy so far subsided,



that the commoners, Oct. 30, 1721, made large partitions of their pasture. With regard to this, as situated in 1640, the subsequent action was taken by the freemen: "Ordered, that none of the land within the Cattle's range shalbe granted henceforward to any man for any particular vse. And the range of the Cattle at the Forrest river head where freshe water falls in and where salt water floweth at high water marke, shalbe a lyne sowthard vp to Mr. Humphryes farme and from thence to the pond and soe about to Brooksbye." Before proceeding to divide such territory, part of which had been located for the poor and the ministry among the parishes, the commoners prudently made other reservations to meet claims which might be presented. They reserved 300 acres, clear of abatements, between Spring and Reading Ponds, and the plains on the north side of a road from Butts brook to Strong Water-brook bridge. So prepared, they had three lots set off—one for the Village and Ryall Side or north precinct, another for the middle precinct, and a third for the two lower parishes. According to a computation, in 1723, there were 284 cottagers and other commoners within these limits. Of them, 214 belonged to the two lower parishes, and 70 to the other sections. In the circuit of all such commoners, 459 dwellings, mostly huts or cottages, were erected, from the first settlement to the close of 1660. Of these, 226 were built before or about the first of 1638, and 233 subsequently. There were, also, 583 houses, from 1660 to June 16, 1702, and, from this date to November 22, 1714, 107 houses erected. The whole number thus built were 1,149. The contents of appropriations, previously

specified and clear of abatements, were as follow : 138 rights for the Village and Ryall Side, equal to 460 acres ; 204 rights for the middle precinct, equal to 680 acres ; and 790 rights to the two lower parishes, equal to 2,630 acres. Inclusive of the abatements, there were 3,773 acres. To the rights, 28 more were afterwards added. These partitions have shifted hands and undergone various modifications with the progress of time. Particularly the greatest, as retained by residents in what is now our city, calls for a relation of its incidental occurrences. Its usual denomination has long been that of the Great Pasture. The general manner of holding territory as this has been, was not peculiar to our colony or country. Palgrave informs us, that every Anglo-Saxon "Township contained common fields, of which the usufruct was shared between the lord and the men of the community." Relative to the pasture, rules were adopted, 1723-4, as follow : One right for a cow, or 3 calves, or 2 yearlings, or 3 sheep and 3 lambs ; one and a half for an ox, or 2 heifers of 2 years old or steers, or 5 sheep and 5 lambs ; and two rights for a horse. The clerk of the proprietors was to have  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>d</sup> for each calf or sheep, and 1<sup>d</sup> for the other animals, as his compensation. This body have allowed those changes which the increase and convenience of our population and the improvements of time required. For the accommodation of some among them, who lived above the town bridge, and others wishing to unite with them, they agreed, in 1737-8, that about one third of their commons, being west and southwest from the town, should be a distinct propriety. This offset comprised the North and Sheep

Pastures. The former of these, containing over 190 acres, became a separate lot in 1740. It has been variously transferred, and now has not far from eight rights. The latter was appropriated to its owners in 1740-1, and then had an area of  $730\frac{1}{2}$  acres or  $194\frac{3}{4}$  rights, each at  $3\frac{3}{4}$  acres. It has been so bought and united with farms, as to retain only 16 rights. As another curtailment of the Great Pasture, its proprietors voted, 1741-2, that the subscribers for the Horse Pasture should have  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres for each of their rights. They accepted and confirmed, in 1749, a list of these associates. An old map describes this partition as having 88 rights and 340 acres. The difference of calculation here may be owing to abatements for quality of soil. The land, thus newly named, was subdivided in 1784. One of the lots, being 134 acres and embracing Gallows Hill, was assigned to Benjamin Goodhue and others; it still remains entirely in their possession. Two other lots, then made over, have mostly passed into private hands for cultivation. Among the less public transactions of the commoners, was that of having trees planted. Perceiving that the woods, which once abounded on their premises, were not enough to afford sufficient shade for herds on the highlands, they made a proposal in 1747-8. It was, that whoever would set locust trees there, should have  $2\frac{2}{6}$  old tenor for each of them, and, if it lived fifteen months,  $2\frac{2}{6}$  more. Called again to give up another large section of their territory, the commoners, in 1749, consented to the location of rights so as to constitute Pickering's Pasture of 274 acres. This land, though long used, after

being so allowed, for the feed of cows, has been united for a considerable period, with farms composed of its own and other soil. The commoners consented, in 1773, that four rights be given by any of their company to accommodate a hospital. They parted with 125 acres, 1786, for the Pickman and Fitch farms. As the town had purchased the hospital, the commoners, 1794, granted such an establishment more of the pasture. Among the interruptions of their pastoral concerns, none had produced more public attention, than the passage of the turnpike through a portion of their limits. In 1808, they set off the Great Swamp to Samuel Putnam, Esq., and 40 acres to Benjamin Pickman, Esq. Some of these rights were purchased as high as \$100 a piece. Such are now sold for \$50 each. Then the commoners had only 520 acres left; of this they have since relinquished  $41\frac{1}{2}$  acres to the Ware farm, which leaves but  $478\frac{1}{2}$  acres in the possession of about twenty-two proprietors. Should the question arise, On what conditions did they permit their bounds to be so much reduced? The answer is, as may be gathered from their transactions, that whenever one or more individuals petitioned to have a certain number of rights, either inherited or purchased, located together on acceptable terms, the request was considered and soon granted; or, if such a proposition required an order of court, they settled it in that way. The territory, so diminished, asks for a glance at part of its present rules. It admits 80 or 90 cows annually: each of them occupies  $1\frac{1}{2}$  right, and is assessed \$1 50 for entrance, which includes the herdsman's pay. Among the "coming events" which "cast their

shadows before," may we not place the one, that this chief remnant of common land, this memorial of ancient privilege and custom, of long and varied counsels and mutations, will, ere the lapse of many years, cease as a propriety and become mingled with the private estates of our corporation? Transitory is the nature of all earthly interests.

It is well known, that our oldest towns were liberally allowed by the legislature to extend their bounds. Salem was numbered among them. After having protected her more distant inhabitants, and they felt able to stand alone, she received applications for release from municipal bounds. The general reasons assigned for changes of this kind, were the inconveniences of attendance on town meetings, on services of worship, and on privileges of education for children. As our corporation advanced in population and resources, as its land rose in value and its charges increased, such separations were less willingly and expeditiously granted.

#### WENHAM.

The first branch of the parent stock, thus parted with, was Wenham. There are no sufficient data to show precisely the period when this place began to be inhabited. Though land there does not seem, from Salem records, to have been assigned before 1637, still some of it may have been improved sooner. The next year, Francis Felmingham was allowed 200 acres at Great Pond, which designated Wenham. Leave was given by the General Court, 1639, for the settling of a village near Ipswich river. This grant was urged by Topsfield, in a controversy of 1698,

with what is now North Danvers, as being exclusively intended for Wenham. The reason advanced for it was, that, on the margin of the original record, there was this note, "Lands granted to Salem Village, now Wenham." But such a remark was written, at least four years after the order was passed, and perhaps many more. It was also in a hand different from that of Increase Nowell, who entered the grant. The renewed permission of the legislature, in 1643, for such a settlement, evidently shows, that in both instances they intended it for Topsfield, and not for Wenham in either of them.

Tradition informs us, that, in the first occupancy of the latter place, Hugh Peters favored the inhabitants with one of his sermons. The spot, then selected for his stand, was the top of a hill, near what was recently the stage-road and the margin of the spacious pond. His text, according to his frequent custom, was strikingly suited to the localities of the situation. It was, "At Enon, near to Salim, because there was much water there." The eminence, thus used as a natural pulpit, still bears the name of this noted but unfortunate divine. Like most mementos of human actions, it is gradually diminished before the iuroads of inventive convenience.

This town was incorporated May 10, 1643, according to the simple record of General Court, "It is ordered, that Enon shalbe called Wenham."

#### MANCHESTER.

As a division of Naumkeag, this place was anciently known as Jeffrey's Creek. It appears to have been thus called from William Jeffrey, who probably



occupied it, as well as a neck of his surname in Ipswich, for trade and fishery, not later than 1628. In a general assignment of territory, 1636-7, lands, located there, were granted by Salem to some of its inhabitants. General Court, at their session of May 13, 1640, allowed a company of seventeen persons, chiefly grantees at the Creek, to erect a village there with suitable enlargement, under the direction of Symon Bradstreet and John Winthrop, Jr. William Walton, who headed the petition for such permission, expected to remove thither, but he continued to preach at Marblehead. The legislature, at a session of May 14, 1645, exchanged the name of Jeffrey's Creek for Manchester, whence the town dates its incorporation, though the act was in July. To facilitate intercourse between this place and its parent town, the same legislative body order, October 26 of the next year, that a committee "forthwith lay out a way between the ferry at Salem and the head of Jeffryes Creeke, and that it be such a way, as men may travell on horse-back or drive catle, and if such a way may not be found, then to take speedy course to sett vp a foote bridge at Mackrell Cove."

## MARBLEHEAD.

This settlement was so denominated from its abundance of rocks, anciently called marble, and from its high and bold projection into Salem harbor. Its bounds included Naugus' Head, which, in 1629, became the site of the noted Darby Fort. It was selected about this time, as well adapted for carrying on the fishery. Mr. Cradock, the first governor of the Massachusetts corporation, had one of his compa-

nies here in this business, not later than 1631. Isaac Allerton, and Moses Maverick, his son-in-law, the former among the first settlers of Plymouth, were here as soon as 1634, with their servants similarly employed. Wood gives the ensuing description in 1633: "Marvil Head is a place, which lyeth 4 miles full South from Salem and is a very convenient place for a Plantation, especially for such as will set upon the trade of fishing. There was made here a ship's loading of fish the last year, where still stand the stages and drying scaffolds." At their session of May 6, 1635, the Legislature order, that "there shalbe a Plantacon att Marblehead;" that the people there "plant and improue such ground" as they need; and, according to their increase, the inhabitants of Salem, who own land thereabouts are to let them have it, on condition of "being payd for their labor and cost." John Humphrey was allowed to improve "the land betwixte the Clifte and the Forrest Ryver;" but, if the necessity of Marblehead population required it, he was to part with it on terms similar to those last named, and they were to retain it unless proved to be property of Salem. None were to reside at Marblehead without leave from the Court or two of the magistrates. At their session of March 3, 1635-6, evidence was laid before the Legislature, that Marblehead neck belonged to Salem. The same authorities order, 1643-4, that, "in regard of the defect of freemen at Marblehead," a person, not so politically qualified, but fit for a constable there, be nominated by Salem and sworn by the Deputy Governor. They vote, that "Marblehead hath leave granted to fortify itself by breast worke or otherwise,

and two guns to bee delivered unto them with convenient ammunition suitable thereto." The next May, the Legislature require them to choose one of their inhabitants to give them military instruction, so that they may be ready for "speciall occations." It was agreed by Salem, March 12, 1648-9, that "Marblehead, with the allowance of General Court, shall be a towne and the bounds to be the utmost extent of that land, which was Mr. Humphries farme and solde to Marblehead, and so all the neck to the sea, reserving the disposing of the ferry and appointing of the ferry was to Salem." Such permission was confirmed by the Legislature, at their convention of the 2d of the succeeding May. At the time of this separation, Marblehead contained forty-four families. Its territory was claimed by the Sagamore George as a part of his father's inherited domain. As stated previously, the heirs of the former disposed of their claim to the soil in 1684, and thus quieted a demand perseveringly made by their deceased relative.

#### NEW MEADOWS.

This place was assigned by General Court, at their session of November 5, 1639, to the inhabitants of Salem for a village. The same authorities intended that others of Ipswich, who made like application, should share in the privilege. They rectified the omission in 1643. They also voted, at the first date, farms for Messrs. Bellingham, Bradstreet and Endicott, in or about the same territory. It was not long ere a question arose whether the line of Salem, contained in such land, reached Ipswich river. While this subject was pending, the name of New Meadows

was exchanged for that of Topsfield, October 18, 1650, and was thus incorporated. This accorded with the wish of some proprietors, while others petitioned that it might be called "Hempstead." The Legislature decided, in 1658, that Salem should extend from their meeting-house six miles "into the woods" towards Topsfield, and that the latter include such lands as were beyond this limit and granted by the former, but to be owned by the individual proprietors. Still a severe and protracted discussion was continued between parties of the two places till 1700, when it was closed. The appointment and report of surveyors, employed on this occasion, show the rareness of scientific qualifications for such a trust. William Bowditch and William Gedney were chosen by two justices "to be y<sup>e</sup> Artists for y<sup>e</sup> stating and setting y<sup>e</sup> West line."

## BEVERLY.

This place was originally called Cape Ann Side and Bass River. Its early associations and interests rendered it more nearly allied to Salem than any other of the seceded corporations. Its soil was occupied by the adventurous colonists about 1628. To this conclusion is the deposition of Richard Brackenbury, who spake from personal knowledge: "The same yeare wee came ouer, it was that wee tooke a farther possession on the north side of Salem ferrye, comonly caled Cape An Side, by cutting thach for our houses, and soone after laid out lotts for tillage land on the said Cape An Side, and quickly after sundry houses were built on the said Cape An Side." Having "borne the burden of the day" with Salem, and

been released from ecclesiastical engagements to them, the people of Bass River petition General Court, in 1659, to be made a separate town. Their request was suspended till 1668, when it was allowed, and they received the appellation of Beverly. But this name was far from being one of sweet sounds and sensations to Roger Conant and his neighbors. They besought the Legislature in 1671 to save them from so unpleasant experience by permitting them to be denominated Budleigh. They had two reasons for such a request: one was, that the desired name was that of the market town of Devonshire in the west of England, whence he and his fellow planters came; another, that the imposed appellation subjected them to the nickname of *beggarly*. Still the arguments failed to compass the object. In assuming a distinct municipality, the people of Beverly subjected themselves to a claim sustained by the patent of John Mason. On this account they were disturbed in 1680, and many years passed before a settlement was effected. A further demand was made on them by descendants of the Agawam Sagamores, for a title to their soil. This they compromised in 1700, more as a matter of charity than of justice.

#### WILL HILL.

The grant of a farm to Richard Bellingham, in 1639, was "on the head of Salem to the N. W., there being in it a hill with an Indian plantation." The eminence here mentioned went by the name of Will Hill, which was also applied to its vicinity. It was probably so called from old William, an Indian.

This individual had given a considerable tract of land to John, son of Governor Endicott, before 1660, as an expression of gratitude for the kindness shown by the father to the impoverished natives. From motives of policy the Legislature did not confirm this gift, but they assigned to the grantee, in its stead, a similar one of the colony. Bray Wilkins and John Gingle, having purchased Mr. Bellingham's farm, petitioned General Court in 1661, that it might be under the jurisdiction of Salem. This was allowed. As the people of Will Hill were more accommodated to worship with their immediate neighbors of other towns, they were released, 1723, from ecclesiastical charges at Salem village, when the ministry should be established among them. After several attempts to be set off, they, with parts of Andover, Boxford and Topsfield, were incorporated, June 20, 1728, by the name of Middleton.

## RYALL SIDE.

This division of our soil has been spelt variously. Some have written it Ryal, supposed to be from the surname of William Ryall, who came over in 1629; and others, Royal. On the town records we find, in 1646, "Royall Side," and in 1650, "Rial's Neck." It is probable that both of these nominal adjectives refer to the emigrant's surname, just mentioned. As the exact mode of spelling this name is not known to have been continued in New England, and as a family of Royals resided early in Maine, it is supposed that Ryall was changed to Royal. Still we have thought it well to retain what is likely to have been the original appellation of the Side, that is Ryall. In



1679, commons, located there, were let to individuals and were denominated "the leased lands." These were sold to the lessees, soon after the final separation of the premises from Salem, for £146 13' 4<sup>d</sup>. A vote was passed here, 1711-2, that the inhabitants of Ryall Side be allowed, with some of the village and Beverly, to associate as a religious society, sometimes termed the Precinct. The consent of Salem having been obtained, the Legislature enacted, September 11, 1753, that Ryall Side be united with Beverly.

## DANVERS.

Settlers were here as early as 1633. They annually increased and spread. Connected with a large grant of land made by the Legislature, in 1635, to John Humphrey, was "a fresh pond with a little Ileland, conteyning aboute two acres." This spot lies mostly within the bounds of Danvers. The subsequent condition was annexed to its being possessed by the grantee: "The inhabitants of Saugus and Salem shall have liberty to build stoore howses vpon the said Ileland, and to lay in such provisions, as they iudge necessary for their vse in tyme of neede." As the north-westerly part of Salem was regarded as a suitable place for considerable population, the following movement was made, December 31, 1638, by the people of this town: "Agreed and voted, that there should be a village graunted to Mr. Phillips and his company vppon such conditions as the 7 men appointed for the towne affaires should agree on." This appears to have been the origin of what was long called Salem Village; sometimes the plantation and

its inhabitants were also denominated the farmers. The Mr. Phillips, before named, was probably John, who preached at Dedham and elsewhere. He was received here, as a townsman, January 21, 1640, and assigned land on condition of his remaining in the country. Not long after this, he and his wife united with Dedham church and returned to England in 1642. The people of the village were released, 1671-2, from parish charges to the first congregation. As usual with such settlements, they very probably kept up worship among themselves, either by laymen or preachers, from their beginning. As a protection against the devastations of Philip's forces, they had, in the fore part of 1676, garrisons prepared, by order of the town's military committee, and manned from among themselves. In 1696, they dismiss from their church some individuals, who, with others of Ipswich, emigrate to South Carolina. They long had a place of defence on "Watch-house hill," where they agreed, in 1700, to erect their second meeting-house. Their contest with Topsfield, as to bounds, has been spoken of, and their still severer trials of witchcraft and other concerns will be elsewhere presented. After long continued applications of the village to become a separate town, a vote is passed by Salem, October 23, 1751, that they and the Middle Precinct, with consent of the Legislature, be thus privileged. When they brought their petition, for such an object, before the General Court, this body so modified it as to constitute them a district instead of a town. The act, thus incorporating them, was of January 28, 1752, and gave them the name of Danvers. There was a political reason for such disappointment. Royal in-

structions had been sent to the governor of our Province to restrain the increase of representatives by preventing the formation of towns. The party, both here and in England, who favored the Parliamentary taxation of our colonies, perceived that the popular branch of our government gained strength to resist such adverse policy. Hence they were sustained by regal prerogative, to circumvent the power whose advance would cause their retreat. As to the name of Danvers, it was so called through the influence of Lieut. Governor Phips, from gratitude to one of his patrons. While this district was connected with Salem, it had one of the representatives to the Legislature at its own charge, and the latter had another. So soon as a favorable opportunity presented, the subject of its becoming a town was brought before the General Court. The end of such a movement was accomplished June 16, 1757, and thus one means secured to enlarge legislative privilege and throw weight in the scale of freedom. On this occasion, however, Mr. Hutchinson of the council and subsequently governor, entered his protest. The substance of the document dated the 9th, is of the ensuing tenor: First. Excessive increase of representatives retards business, burdens the people, and gives the House undue proportion to the Board in joint ballot. Second. As no governor nor lieutenant governor is present, so important a matter should be deferred. Third. The Board by passing the bill, as the second branch of the government, immediately bring it before themselves, for consent or refusal, as the first branch, thus directly opposing the King's orders to

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the chief magistrate, in a case unnecessary for the public good. The failure of this effort indicated, that the political views of its author were less acceptable to the greater portion of the community than they had been.

### MASON'S CLAIM.

When this city was settled, the whole portion of it beyond the North River was claimed by John Mason. This gentleman predicated his demand on two patents, which preceded that of Massachusetts Company, but were destitute of legal sanctions. Still, these were adduced at various periods, with another of 1635, as proof of his propriety in the soil from said river to the Piscataqua. In the year last mentioned, it was the purpose of the anti-Puritan party in England, to make him governor of the same territory, and others to sustain a like office in different divisions of our colonies, and all of them subject to a president. But the project failed, and with it the enforcement of Mr. Mason's demand was suspended. At his decease, in the same year, he left a widow, Ann, and an only child, Jane, the wife of John Tuf-ton. The children of the latter, besides two daughters, were John and Robert. These sons, on coming of age, were to assume the surname of their grandfather, as a condition of being numbered among his principal heirs. The first, John, seems to have had part of his bequest within the present Essex county bounds. How long he lived is unknown to us. He left no issue. His grandmother, Ann, through her agent, Joseph Mason, sent a transcript of her husband's will, copied 1653, to Massachusetts authori-

ties, as an indication of what was expected from them. His brother, Robert, as opportunities presented, urged their ancestor's claim. In 1660 he brought it before the lately restored monarch. Notice of this and other matters was communicated to our General Court. They soon forwarded a loyal address to the King. He sent them a friendly answer of February 15, 1660-1, with the promise of protection to our people in all their charter rights. Mr. Mason still continued the agitation of his landed inheritance here. In 1668, William Trask agreed to give him 15/. a year for the use of his house and land. Payments of this rent were to be "on the day of St. John Baptist's nativity and on the feast-day of our Lord's nativity." Such renewal of a vexed question, was probably encouraged by the augmented prejudice which the King cherished against our rulers, for their late rejection of his uncompromising commissioners. While our fathers were almost crushed with the burden and afflictions of the Indian war in 1676, a command came from his majesty for them to dispatch agents for his court to answer the complaints of Gorges and Mason. Accordingly Messrs. Stoughton and Bulkley were sent over. They were heard, 1677, before two lords, chief justices. These decided, that as the ter-tenants of the soil, from Piscataqua to Naumkeag river, had not been summoned to prove their titles, they could give no conclusive opinion on the subject. They however reported, that Hampton, Exeter, Dover, and Portsmouth, embraced in such limits, should belong to New Hampshire, and the rest, making ten towns, should be contained in Massachusetts. They also gave their judgment, that

Mr. Mason ought not to be allowed the right of government over either of these two divisions. Relative to the latter partition of territory, this gentleman intended to have it denominated Mariana, and be subject to the jurisdiction of himself and descendants. Thus it was his purpose to revive a favorite plan of his ancestor, and it was his lot to experience a like disappointment. The decision of the preceding jurists received the Royal confirmation. Thus, with respect to the fee of their lands, the inhabitants of an early section of Salem, as well as of other places, were left in anxious suspense. As some alleviation to their fears, Sir William Jones, in 1679, gave his opinion that such a demand was illegal. Still, Mr. Mason was active at home, for what he deemed his just inheritance in New England. He so gained the ear of the King to his petitions, that a letter of September 30, 1680, came from His Majesty to our rulers. It ordered, that the people of the intended Mariana transmit proofs of their real estate, with colonial agents, to the crown. Individuals were elected for such an embassy. Among the instructions, prepared for them, February 28, 1680-1, our civil authorities made the ensuing remark: "With reference to Mr. Mason's complaints and claime on the South side of Merrimack River, you shall truly enforme his Majestie of our ready obedience to his commands in publishing his letter to those Ter-tenents, who will make their application to his Majestie, as he has been pleased to direct." The persons designated for this purpose declined, and the agency was delayed, much to the displeasure of the King. Such an occasion brought out valuable depositions from several of Sa-



lem's primitive planters, and thus preserved historical facts which otherwise would have slumbered in the grave with them. It also produced interesting petitions from towns immediately interested. One from Beverly, of February 22, 1680-1, furnishes the subsequent details: We have our juste titles to the soil; every proprietor expects a legal trial; have had possession above 50 years. We "entered vpon the place with good likeing of the Indians; haue aduentured our liues and estates and worne out much time and strength in the subduing a wilderness for the increasing his Majesties dominions and customs. And in the late warrs with the heathen, haue carried our liues in our hands to defend our possessions with the loss of about twelve English liues of our town, and expended some hundreds of pounds to maintain our lands." In all this period, Mr. Mason has done nothing for the defence or improvement of the territory. We hope his Majesty does not mean, that we shall send our original deeds and evidences 3,000 miles to rebut his plea, and that the case may be heard on the contested premises. We rely on his Majesty's promise of protection to the colonists, made in his first letter to our civil authorities after being restored to the throne, and that he will intercede for them if the cause of Mason be brought before him in council. The succeeding June 2, the assistants order £100 to assist the defendants of the several towns in controversy; but the house non-concurred. Probably the reason for this dissent was, lest it should commit the Legislature as avowed opponents to the regal pleasure, already bent on vacating our charter. On the 3d of the same month, both branches of the govern-

ment make a remark in their letter to the King, respecting the occupants of Mariana. It is, "We are in hope, that what may be presented to his Majesty on behalf of said inhabitants, will obviate the clamour and groundless pretence of the complainers." Certain expenses of Ipswich, January 9, 1682, denote that a committee of these persons, so accused, had assembled to consult on expedient measures for relief. The legislative authorities, February 15, petition the King to protect the same individuals. These, comprising the people of Gloucester, in their address to the crown, repeat the leading arguments of the Beverly document. They also say, We were confirmed in our rights by law of 1657, for settling inheritences. They mention the destitution of legal forms in the first patents of Mason. They pray, that whatever trial may be had in the case, it may be in courts of justice within the disputed circuit. In order for due attention to these documents in London, a bill of exchange for £10 was sent to John Hall. However careful to make such provision, yet the last appeals to the throne were necessarily delayed. The magistrates, March 29, propose that the occupants of Mariana re-write their petition, and omit styling themselves "tertenants," lest their use of the term should be implicit evidence against their cause. As proof how much the possessors of the land in question were opposed to any acknowledgment, that their titles lacked in validity, we have the ensuing fact: The people of Ipswich, at a town-meeting, November 27th, say, as Thomas Lovel, a selectman, has been to Mr. Mason about a compliance, and advised others that it would be best to comply, voted, that

he be excluded from his office. The General Court, at a session of February 15, 1682-3, appoint magistrates, unconcerned in the property so contested, to hold a Court in Essex County, for hearing its respective claimants. Governor Bradstreet addresses a letter to Secretary Jenkins in London, March 24th, on this topic, which was embraced by the advocates for regal prerogative, as a call for the nullification of our colonial patent. He states, that the King's communication of June 23, about Mason's demand, did not reach him till the end of November, and that, on January 26, he had another from this claimant, requiring that he should be put in possession of Mariana, according to the royal injunctions, and be allowed to prosecute forthwith the holders of such territory. He also writes, that he communicated Mason's request to the Legislature, and that they wished this person to be informed, that he might have been accommodated with a trial here long before, and may still be so, by giving a month's notice, for the purpose of selecting impartial judges and jurors. He further relates, that after an answer was forwarded to Mr. Mason he visited Boston, but made no motion for a legal investigation of his case. The impracticability which this gentleman had experienced in New Hampshire, to obtain a verdict against the retainers of his land there, and the fact, that similar and even greater difficulty would attend his suit in Essex County, was probably the chief cause why he delayed to commence an action. The following order of our government, at their session of May 16, very likely referred to the same subject: "In answer to the petition of John Wales and Content Mason,

his daughter, relict of John Mason, humbly desiring, that the like power of making sale and confirming deeds, as was formerly by y<sup>e</sup> Court granted to John Mason and no otherwise, may be by this Court granted to them, being administrators of the said John Mason's estate. The Court grants their request and impowers them hereby accordingly." If this has the application supposed, one of the petitioners must have been the widow of John Tufton Mason, deceased, and grandson of the patentee, and his brother, Robert, may have allowed her, as a party concerned, to secure, by private compromise with those whom he considered as ter-tenants, what there was no prospect of his obtaining by any judicial process. Still, when James II. came to the throne in 1685, and increasingly leaned to despotism and papacy, and thus against the free institutions of New England, Mason had encouragement to expect, that events would so occur as to accomplish his long deferred purpose. So revived were his hopes, that some land holders deemed it advisable to comply with his requisitions while moderate, lest, with the enlargement of his influence, they should be raised. One of our most respected inhabitants, Rev. John Higginson, by May 28, 1686, had taken a lease of him for 700 acres of land, granted by General Court, 1661, and bordering on Haverhill. The condition was, that Mason, or his heirs, should have 2/. for every house subsequently erected on the lot. Being of Andros's Council and about to repeat the trial of his demands in Boston, 1688, he finished his varied and perplexed career.. His was an inheritance of protracted and continual disappointments. His two sons profited by

his adverse experience and sold their right to Samuel Allen of London. The same was confirmed, 1691, to this person, by our province charter. After several unsuccessful efforts to enforce his demands on the individual and common lands of towns in New Hampshire, he died 1705. His son, Thomas Allen, similarly failed, and deceased 1715. With so poor a prospect before them, his heirs gave up the contest. A descendant of Capt. Mason revived his claim, 1738, and had it afterwards allowed in England. By his sale of lands in Salisbury, and other of our north towns, to Massachusetts, about the year just specified, he implicitly relinquished all right to Mariana. Thus, after long suspense, the inhabitants of this contested section were freed from any further charge as intruders, and left to the undisturbed use of their soil. Though the euphony of the name, applied by Mason to their territory, must be allowed, yet, from its associations of perplexity and cost, it could not bring harmony to their views and feelings.

#### TOWNSHIPS GRANTED.

Among the multitudes of Salem, gone out at various periods, to people other territories, are some who had grants of townships from our civil authorities.

#### PENNICOOK.

This was an Indian name for a large tract of land on the Merrimack River. It was generally applied to the bounds of Concord, N. H. This seems to be the location, or nearly so, for which our townsmen made an early movement. "The Selectmen were de-

sired, September 27, 1662, to petition the General Court for Pennie Cooke as a Plantation, and to ingage for the planting of the same." This was done May 28, 1663, through our deputies. The reasons produced for it were, that the town had parted with so much of their soil as not to have enough for the comfortable support of all its population; and whoever of them should have a new settlement allowed them, would be more "helpful to Church and Commonwealth." The deputies agree to the request, but the magistrates defer the subject. Such delay may have arisen from applications made by Malden the preceding June, and by individuals of Newbury and elsewhere in 1659, for a plantation in the same quarter. It was, however, continued no longer than the session of October 20, when the wish of our townsmen was gratified. They were assigned a tract of six miles square, on condition of having it occupied with not less than 20 families in three years. The record of this grant states, that it had been made previously. In the same vicinity, Governor Endicott, in 1664, was allotted 500 acres, 36 of which were on an island in the river. One mile square, in that neighborhood, was voted for William Hathorne, 1673, instead of 500 acres, which had been ordered for him elsewhere. So large a lot was probably allowed him, in part, to encourage a post for Indian trade, set up by enterprising individuals of Salem, in 1674, which must have been interrupted, as to its object, by the disastrous war soon after waged with the natives. It appears that the purpose for advancing the settlement of Pennicook was long suspended. In 1714, Salem repeated their application to the Legislature,



that the place might be confirmed to them. They remarked as if it was first appropriated to them in 1661. Their plea for being renewedly heard was, that the wars had prevented a requisite number from emigrating thither according to contract ; their losses in late hostilities ; the reduction of their bounds, and part of their inhabitants needed land for support. There is no record that the General Court allowed this petition. The territory for which our fathers thus made repeated efforts, had become occupied, in 1727, by emigrants from Ireland.

#### SOUTH-END OF ARROUSICK ISLAND.

This place lies in Maine. By September 6, 1676, it had become the refuge for about 60 persons, who were driven by an Indian enemy from adjacent settlements. Among such a distressed company were emigrants from Salem. At the date already mentioned, they were privileged to become a town, by Edmund Andros, then governor of Sagadahoc, which had come under the jurisdiction of the Duke of York. In 1689 the settlement was called Newtown, and subsequently made a part of Georgetown.

#### "SWEGUSTAGOE" PLANTATION.

A company, mostly from Salem, are allowed by General Court, at the session of May 19, 1680, a plantation at the bottom of Casco Bay. The order contains various particulars. It says, that "five miles square to be allotted out for a Touneship and two of the Islands adjacent ;" that a committee "be im-  
powered for the enterteyning of inhabitants and grant-

ing of allottments, and laying out the bounds of the said Towne. And no Indian purchase, formerly or hereafter to be made, shall give interest to any person in said land, but by the approbation and allowance of the said committee, refering to the Gouvernor and Company the royalties and priuiledges, due by Charter to the cheife Lord Proprietor, and a farme of 300 acres, in any place where the President of the said Province shall appoint and choose, and all this vpon condition that they settle 20 or 30 familjes, with an able minister, within two yeares. Also, they shall allow as an acknowledgment of the Gouvernor and Company or the cheife proprietors by his Majestjes Charter, after the first seven yeares are expired, five Beauer skins per ann." Bartholomew Gedney, one of our distinguished townsmen, was a large owner of territory in this quarter, 1674, where he then had a saw-mill erected. He was appointed on a committee to superintend the settlement of the foregoing grant, and the erection of a fort for its defence. This location was permitted to be a township, 1684, and was incorporated 1713, as North Yarmouth.

#### FRESH-WATER BROOK.

This was the name of territory which anciently belonged to Springfield. It was set off by the parent town 1681, and was mostly settled by emigrants from Salem. Among these, were Capt. John Pease and son. They were allowed to be a township 1683, and were then called Enfield. The inhabitants of the place seceded from Massachusetts, and, in 1752, became annexed to Connecticut.

## NEW MARBLEHEAD.

This place, being in Maine, was granted in 1724, and the plan of it accepted by the Legislature, 1735. It was settled by individuals from Salem as well as Marblehead. It subsequently received the name of Windham.

## SOUHEGAN WEST.

Among the survivors of the battle at Narraganset in 1675, or their heirs, were some such of our own town. To these a tract of land, with the above title as one of its names, was assigned by Massachusetts. A plan of it was approved in 1728, when it was denominated "Salem Narraganset, No. 3." It afterwards fell within the bounds of New Hampshire, and has been long known as Amherst.

## NEW SALEM.

This place was assigned to Joseph Andrews and others of our inhabitants 1729, according to incidental evidence. It was confirmed to them and recorded, 1734, among the proceedings of the Legislature. The conditions were as follow: Sixty homelots were to be laid out in a defensible manner. One of them for the first settled minister, another for the support of the ministry, and the third for the use of a school. Each proprietor was to pay £5 on admission for surveys and other public purposes. He was to give a bond of £25, that his lot should have a house, 7 feet stud and 18 feet square; 7 acres fit for cultivation or mowing of English grass; "settle a learned

## 226    LYNDEBOROUGH. TRADE PLANTATION.

and orthodox minister, and build a convenient meeting-house," within five years. Whoever failed to comply with the terms, lost his right and it reverted to the Commonwealth. These were the common stipulations on which townships were granted. The meetings of residents and non-residents, were held in Salem till 1753, when it was agreed to transfer them to the premises of the former.

### SALEM CANADA.

This was among several tracts, assigned by our government for service in the disastrous expedition to Canada in 1690. It was granted, in 1736, to Samuel King and others of our townsmen. It was afterwards called Lyndeborough in compliment to Judge Lynde, one of its chief proprietors. Like many other townships, it came, by Royal decision of 1740, under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire.

### TRADING PLANTATION.

For carrying on the fur-trade, which other companies had done, several of our inhabitants became associated. The names of these were William Hathorne, William Brown, George Curwin, and Walter Price. They, with seven more, lay their request, 1659, before the Legislature. They ask for a tract of ten miles square, 40 or 50 miles from Springfield to the westward, and two thirds of the way to Awrania, afterwards Albany, on condition of commencing its settlement in 18 months. In October of the next year they were allowed their desire, if a house be erected and ten men located there in two years.

They were styled the Company of the Western Plantation for trade. They were permitted, 1662, two years longer for effecting their object. Then a report of their concerns stated, that they had expended £250 towards running the southern line of our colony "in meere charges on seuerall persons in a jurney by land to Forte Auriania and one voyage to y<sup>e</sup> manatoes by sea. In prosecution of the General Court's orders, besides other disbursments, to y<sup>e</sup> vallue of £150 and upwarde more in and aboute y<sup>e</sup> same." The object of such an enterprise was long ago relinquished, as the forests gave place to our settlements and the aborigines disappeared by the progress of our population.

#### FACE OF THE TERRITORY.

As Salem has advanced in years and extended its improvements, the appearances of nature have given place to those of art. Though it lacks the varied scenery of its ancient bounds, still it possesses interesting features. While its main body lies nearly level, its additional portions have their pleasant eminences and valleys, with other original traits.

*Hills.*—Among these mute survivors of numerous revolutions around them, the following may be numbered: Bellyhac, Lord's, Monument, Pickering, Pine, Rail, Spring, Thistle and Timber. These are all located in what was formerly the Great Pasture. *Lord's*, is so denominated from its ancient proprietor. It overtops the rest. It furnished accommodation for a house and garden of its owner. Long since its habitation of social enjoyments fell in ruins, and its fruitful field was covered with the wild herbage. The

height nearest to the turnpike, soon after entering on this road, at the right as you go to Lynn, was called, 1749, Norman's rocks. Another, Brown's, is located eastward of Marblehead road. Besides these, is Legg's hill, near the upper bridge of Forest River. It seems to have been so denominated from John Legg of Marblehead. It rises 119.4 feet above high-water mark. It commands a fine view of Massachusetts bay and the adjacent country.—*Beacon Hill*, 1698, a place for signals, is supposed by some to have been the height of land on the neck.—*Castle Hill*. This is so called on our records in 1636-7. As well known, it forms a part of the Derby farm. It was anciently owned by Erasmus James, who sold it to William Brown. This gentleman bequeathed it, 1716, to his daughter, the wife of Judge Lynde. For a long period, it had an elegant summer-house on its top. This building, 40 years ago, was suffered to decay. Afterwards, it was repaired and raised for the additional purpose of an observatory. In a few years it was blown down, and its ruins cleared away. No vestige remains to tell where once the admirers of nature assembled and discoursed on the beauties of the landscape around them. The eminence furnishes an interesting speculation. Mourt, in 1621, visited the territory of the Naumkeag chief. While here he saw an Indian fort, apparently the one on Forrest River, and said of a second, "About a mile hence, we came to such another, but seated on the top of a hill. Here Nanepashemet was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death." This remark probably applies to Castle Hill, whose situation was favorable for pre-



venting a surprise from the hostile Tarrentines. The early name of the height also denotes, that it was a place of defence, which our first planters are not known to have occupied for any such purpose.—*Gallows Hill*. This spot is well known as located in the vicinity of town bridge. It is associated with sad remembrances. It is the site where the victims of witchcraft delusion made their exit.

*Swamps*.—Of these, which have disappeared and are gradually disappearing from our soil, we may number Ash, Blueberry, Cotton, Great, Long, Pine and Round. The chief of them, as situated in our southwest lands, is Great Swamp. This, 40 years ago, contained 55 acres. It measured a half mile, nearly N. and S. It used to be passed at Chip bridge, near Lynn line, and empty into Forrest river. It was purchased by Judge Samuel Putnam in 1808, and cost him from \$20 to \$25 an acre. He soon had it prepared for grass. It has since proved very fertile for hay and vegetables.

*Marshes*.—Among these, which have become much diminished, the Planters' Marsh has long been noted. It is crossed by the lower part of Bridge Street. Its name was derived from several of our primitive settlers, to whom it was assigned. It continues the memorial of departed worth.

*Creeks*.—There were not many such places in the original limits of Salem. Within its present bounds, there was a principal one which has undergone much change. Its course was from the South River, below the mills, and up between Norman and High Streets. It contained a place called Sweet's cove, being near the house of John Sweet. In the first years of our

settlement, it afforded accommodations for a principal part of our commerce. When it was allowed to be crossed by Mill Street Bridge, 1726, the subsequent provision was made: "That the passage be 30 feet wide, so that the proprietors of the lands above and others, may not be stopped from bringing down or carrying up any vessels or rafts, etc., that they may have occasion for." The privilege of thus using the creek continued for a long period. A century since, boys would go in boats from its waters to a swamp in Crombie Street, and collect eggs from black birds' nests. After this, small vessels passed up to the bottom of the middle of Norman Street. Britton's hill, running from Summer Street, formerly had a ship-yard, whence vessels were launched into the creek. An Octogenarian vividly remembers a brig of 150 tons, which was built on a margin of the same waters. It has been a common tradition, that the name, "Knocker's Hole," applied to High Street and vicinity, arose from the noise of the ship-carpen- ters at work on different parts of such premises. Until 45 years ago, small craft went through the draw and lay by the wharves above. You look now and the whole creek is covered with earth. All maritime indications have passed away.

*Coves.*—The ancient indentations of our shores formed a considerable number of coves.<sup>1</sup> Some of them will be noticed. Great Cove, 1637, is in North River, and now crossed by the Eastern Rail-road. Collins's has its entrance from Beverly harbor. It ex-

<sup>1</sup> When any particular year, in figures, follows these and succeeding features in the face of our soil, it denotes the date when their names were found on our town records.

tends from Roache's Point to the Planters' Marsh, near Essex Bridge, and includes the waters within this line. Below the last is Rams-horn Cove, 1690. The causeway, which unites the Neck and Winter Island, makes two such inlets. The outer is named Abbot's and the inner, Cat Cove, 1639, which had been called Winter Harbor. Hardy's, 1677, or Jeggles', on the South River, was noted as a location for ship-building. More remain, much lessened, by the intrusion of the shores, while others, known and named by our fathers, have ceased to appear.

*Points.*—Spooners on the upper part, Orne's on the north side, Horton's and Windmill on the south side of North River. The last point was probably where John Horn moved his windmill, 1639, after having a lot granted him, 1637, for such a building on or near the burial place. It had a mill on it of this kind, for grinding corn, in 1771. There was another Orne's point, which was taken for the south end of North Bridge. Symonds' Point was opposite to it, and was used for the other end of the same bridge. Pignal's, 1739, and Bar Points on the N., Juniper on the N. E., and Point of Rocks, anciently Woodbury's Point, on the S. of the Harbor Neck. Butt's Point seems to have been about the lower part of Turner's Lane. Long and Pickering Points in South Field. Stage Point, 1640, in the same quarter. It was owned by the Brown family. William Brown was its possessor at the commencement of our Revolutionary difficulties. He went to England and such property was confiscated. The town purchased it for a careening location and ordered it to be paid for, 1781. They let it, 1788, for £7 per annum;

232      SCALE OF PRICES. NECKS. SPRINGS.

1797, for \$30 ; 1802, for \$35, and 1837, for \$40. In 1803, the following prices for graving and sheathing vessels on this point, were adopted :

		GRAVING.		SHEATHING.	
Under	50	tons	25	cts. a ton.	10 cts. a ton per day.
From	50 to 100	"	50	" "	15 " "
"	100 " 150	"	75	" "	20 " "
"	150 " 200	"	\$1 00	" "	20 " "
"	200 " 300	"	1 10	" "	25 " "
"	300 " 400	"	1 25	" "	30 " "

Thus occupied, such estate was sold by our city authorities, 1841, for \$1,000.

*Necks.*—Anciently the term *neck*, was applied to the main body of Salem, as lying between its two principal rivers. This has led to a mistake of some, who have supposed that our earliest and chief settlement was made on what is now commonly designated the neck. The latter, on our eastern bounds, has already been noticed. The "Great North," 1637, has been assigned to Danvers. South, 1659, Darling's, adjacent to Legg's Hill, Holmes's, between Claybrook and Forrest River, are still with us. No doubt, many an interesting incident connected with them, is buried in oblivion.

*Springs.*—In the first occupation of the town, there were various springs on the seaboard. But their natural situation has been so altered, as to become wells or hidden by incumbent earth. Cold, Conconut, Flat-rock, Lord's, Monument, Split-rock and Spring-hill, in what was formerly Great Pasture. Goodale's in Northfield. These have long been the welcome resorts of the young, released from school and uncon-

sciously contributing to their sound health, in pursuit of berries and other wild productions.

*Brooks.*—Acorn, Clay, Cold Spring and Frost Fish, 1638, flow into South River. Spring Pond Brook receives the name of But Brook, 1639, as it crosses the Boston road and empties into North River.

*Runs.*—Allister and Ash Swamp Runs, in the pasture. It is thought that the former bears the name of a proprietor long deceased and forgotten.

*Ponds.*—Coy, Deep, and Silver, near Legg's hill. They are of the hollows in the same premises, which are called Dungeons. This term has long been one of mysterious speculation with boys, before they adventured to examine them. As to Coy and Deep Ponds, we have the ensuing facts. General Court passed the subsequent resolve, 1638. "Whereas Emanuell Downing, Esq. hath brought over, at his great charges, all things fitting for takeing wild foule by way of Duck Coy, this Court, being desiros to encourage him and others in such designs, as tend to publike good, do give him full liberty to place the same Duck Coy in some convenient place within the bounds of Salem, as the towne can agree, and that it shall not bee lawfull for any person to shoote in any gunn within a halfe a mile of the pond, where such Duck Coy shallbee placed, nor shall vse any other meanes for disturbance of the Foule there," on penalty of being fined, or, if such an offender be unknown to the servants of Mr. Downing, who attend at the Coy, "it shallbee lawfull for them to make seisure of his peece and detaine the same till the cause be heard and determined." It appears by a

## 234 RIVERS. MASHABEQUASH OR FOREST RIVER.

record under the same date, which heads the foregoing order, that Mr. Downing bought of John Humphrey, two ponds and high ground about them, sufficient to have the Duck Coy free of disturbance from "plowmen, herdsmen, or any others passing that way." He was allowed to enclose the ground, if not more than 50 acres of upland. The two ponds which he purchased, were Coy and Deep ponds. The name of the former was evidently derived from the use to which it was so applied. The latter, though of small compass, is about 28 feet in depth. The origin of its name is evident. Silver Pond is dry most of the year. It may have been so denominated from some legend of piratical plunder hidden beneath its surface. Besides the preceding, we have Long, 1639, or Spring Pond, in the S. W. division of our township. It is not far from the eastern side of the old Boston road. It measures above 60 acres and helps supply the city aqueduct. The scenery around it is beautiful and romantic. Though a part of South river, the water above the mills on this stream, has been called Mill Pond. In 1795, it contained 56 acres. Its being divided by the rail road, greatly changed its long continued and pleasant aspect.

*Rivers.*—Forest, 1639, between Salem and Marblehead, was denominated Mashabequash by the Indians. In 1795, it measured 29 acres. Its English title is likely to have been given from the abundant woods with which it was formerly skirted. North, 1637, was originally called Naunkeag, from the aborigines who lived about it, and were, as a tribe, so named themselves. Nathaniel Felton, who came



hither 1633, deposed in 1705, that this stream began "at Bar point and so runing to the Ferry, is divided into five severall branches." South, 1636, has, as a cause of deep regret, lost the name, by which it was known to Nanepashemet and his subjects. Tradition relates, that the cove next above the mill bridge on the left, and opposite Broad-field, was anciently a common wintering place for vessels. Relative to the two last streams, Wood notes them, 1633, in his New England Prospect. He mentioned the manner in which our fathers passed them to and from their farms in north and south fields. "There they crosse these rivers with small Cannowes, which are made of whole pine trees, being about two foot and a half ouer, and 20 foot long." He adds, "In these likewise they goe a fowling, sometimes two leagues to sea. There be more cannowes in this town than in all the whole Patent. Every houshold having a water house or two." With respect to such river vehicles, there was an order issued, 1636, by the Quarterly Court. It runs as follows: "It was agreed, that all the canooes of the North syde of the Towne, shalbe brought the next 2<sup>d</sup> day, being the 4<sup>th</sup> of 5<sup>th</sup> mo. about 9 o'clock, A. M., unto the cove of the kommon landing place of the North River by George Harris his house. And that all the canooes of the south syde, are to be brought before the port house in the South River, att the same tyme, then and there to be viewed by J. Halgrave, P. Palfrey, R. Waterman, R. Conant, P. Veren, or the greater number of them. And that there shallbe noe canooe used, upon penalty of 40/. to the owner thereof, than such, as the surveiours shall allowe of and sett their

mark upon, and if any shall refuse or neglect to bring their canoes to the said places att the tyme appointed, they shall pay for said faulte 10/." The price of a good canoe with two paddles was £3. But bridges succeeded canoes, as a better method to cross our waters. The town voted, 1789, that the legislature be asked for a Lottery to pay the cost of clearing out the North and South Rivers. It was not granted. It was one of like applications, long made from different quarters, till reform of the right sort gave them a check.

Passing from our inland streams, we come to objects of remark in our sea-board waters. Among the spots perilous for the approaching and tempest beaten mariners, are Johnson's Haste, 1697, Black and Grey Rocks, within, and Halfway Rock, without Baker's Island.

*Islands.*—It is likely, that an injunction of our Assistant Court, 1631, that all Islands within the limits of our Commonwealth, should be public property, was a precaution to quiet various conflicting claims about such territory. Our legislative authorities seem not to have noticed the smaller Islands. These, in our own bounds, first call for attention. Gegles is above the harbor, near Forest River Mills. There is scarce a doubt, but that Jeggles is its proper orthography. Another, named Jeggles, was situated in the South River, lying "before the door of Joseph Hardy, Sen." It was granted, 1684, to Thomas Gardner. It was allowed by the town, 1726-7, to become the foundation of the present Union Wharf. Winter Island has been particularly noticed. Coney, in 1795, measured 110 poles. It was sold to Capt.

Stephen Sewall, 1693-4, for £6, with a reserve to the town for ballast stones, below high water mark. Eagle, of 100 poles, has a productive soil. Whether so denominated from one of the Company's large ships, or from its being a resort for "the king of birds," is not known. Ram, of 115 poles, is covered with a wild growth, and is crossed by the line between Lynn and Salem. Tinker, of two acres and seven-eighths, has some good ground. Repeated motions have been made to sell these two spots, but ineffectually. They let together, 1775, for 48/. a year, and, 1797, for \$4 50, and in general since, for \$6 a year. Not aware that Salem claimed Tinker Island, John Prince, of Marblehead, planted trees there, 1806, for land marks. The former town, in connection with the latter, petitioned the legislature, 1822, to grant the United States jurisdiction over two acres on the S. W. part of the same Island, and also, over Cat Island and Marblehead Rock, to preserve similar guides for seamen. Our legislative acts show no decision on this subject. The Gooseberries, are high rocks with little earth on their summits. One is designated as the Eastern, another the Western, and the last as Pope's Head. However sterile as to vegetation, they afford large supplies of ballast stones. On this account, they have yielded greater rents than any Islands which have belonged to Salem. In 1832, they brought \$32 a year; 1836-7, \$82 50; 1837-8, \$175; 1838-9, \$212 50; 1839-40, \$250; next year the same; 1841-2, \$125; 1842-3, \$135. The town voted, 1768, to sell the N. W. Gooseberry, with Eagle, Tinker, and Ram Islands. It was well, for

their subsequent profit, that their purpose did not succeed. All of the various isles, dotting their maritime waters, which still remain as their property, are the Gooseberries, Ram, and Tinker. Let us now survey the larger Islands. Cat contains over 9 acres, and has springs at its S. E. termination. It was granted, 1655, by General Court, to Gov. Endicott and his heirs. It was bequeathed, 1684, by Z. Endicott to his daughters, under the designation of Cotta. This was its proper name, which was afterwards contracted to its present form. Proprietors of Marblehead erected a hospital here, for innoculating with the small pox, which was burnt, 1774, by a mob. This outrage led to other threatening disturbances. House, is so denominated from a rock on it, like a building. It measures 5 acres, and is a half mile eastward of the Miseries. These two, and Baker's, of the remaining Islands, are the principal ones. There can be little doubt, but that they were improved, more or less, while in the hands of the Colony. Salem appears to have had the direction of them. They instruct the selectmen, 1658-9, to ascertain if payment had been made for Moulton's Misery. This was so named from a disastrous shipwreck. In October of the same year, several of our townsmen petitioned General Court for leave to plant corn on it, where they had already set up a fishing stage. Their request was not allowed. At the first session of the legislature in 1660, Salem applied to them for a grant of the three Islands. Part of their application ran thus: "Whereas ther are certayne Ilands neare our towne, comonly knowen by the names of the Miserys and Baker's Iland, fit for fish-

inge employments, a great part of our imployment, our humble request to this honored Court is, that they would be pleased to grant the propriety of those Ilands to y<sup>e</sup> towne of Salem, and you shall further ingage your pettioners to be thankfull to you, desiringe Almighty God to inable you with his presence and blessinge in all your waighty occasions." An affirmative answer was delayed till the next session. This was thus recorded: "Vpon a motion made in the behalfe of the inhabitants of Salem, this Court judgeth it meete to graunt to them certaine Islands, knowne by the name of the Miseries and Baker's Island, lying in the mouth of theire harbor, provided, that it shall be lawfull for any fishermen to make vse of them in making fish, and whatever conduceth thereto, as building houses, stages, etc. as also wood and flaking in all fishing seasons." Here we have another instance of provision, made for the fishery, as ordered by the Charter. As to the Miseries, the Great one contains almost 64 acres, and the Little between 3 and 4. They are united by a bar, which, at half tide, is above water. John Lambert and others petitioned the town, 1662-3, that they might plant there, in the course of their fishing season. The request was negatived. Thomas Tyler of Martha's Vineyard, son of Masconomet, the Ipswich Sagamore, sold his claim on these Islands, 1673-4, to Bartholomew Gale. Salem, who, of course, discountenanced such a sale, leased the same property, 1678, to George Curwin, for 1,000 years and 1 day, at £3 a year. This sum was appropriated for the grammar school master. A condition of the lease was, that the paving stones and other ballast on the

shores, should be kept for our inhabitants, and that they should have the refusal of the wood and timber. In 1731, Benjamin Marston, into whose possession the lease had come, agreed to purchase the town's fee in such Islands, as he and their committee should agree. The reservation about the ballast, below high water mark, was continued. The contract was made, but the price not found on our records. Mr. Marston, at his decease, 1754, left part of the income from the Islands, to a proposed Society in New England for Propagating the Gospel among Indians. But, in a few years afterwards, the King refused, from political motives, to sanction the act for this association. In 1770, the Miseries were offered for sale by Benjamin Marston of Marblehead. Then they had a good dwelling house and barn, a well, and a pond, useful for watering the land. They were divided into six parts by strong stone wall. These Islands have been some cultivated, but their principal use has been for the pasturage of sheep. They have passed through various hands, and have been the source of more benefit than their name indicates. Relative to Baker's Island, it was so denominated as early as 1630. Its measurement is 55 acres, and its distance from Winter Island, about 4 miles. In compliance with a petition from the selectmen, it was granted, 1660, to Salem, under the restrictions on which the Miseries were at the same date. Still covered with the primitive forest, complaints were repeatedly made, that its woods suffered from depredators. As a check to such trespass, our municipal authorities issued, 1670, the ensuing order. "Francis C. Hinse have liberty to fell 20 trees for to build his son, John Brown, a house, and



himself a house, vpon Baker's Iland, and ther to take what he wanteth, and is apoynted to take care, that not any cutt timber or wood without leave of Selectmen." The same evil continued, 1673, when a committee was empowered to have wood, illegally cut down there and on Moulton's Misery, brought away, and to use suitable means to prevent similar intrusion. So perplexed, the town thought best to lease Baker's Island to John Turner, as they did the Miseries to George Curwin. This took place 1678. The conditions, as to payment, time, and reservation, being the same in both cases. A son of the first lessee, purchased, 1731, the fee of Salem in the premises, thus let to him. For this right, and also for that in the Miseries, John Turner and Benjamin Marston, offered £100, which was not accepted, and the price was left to further consideration. In 1759, a son of the former gentleman, held, as tenant, three-fourths, and Timothy Fuller of Middleton, one-fourth of the Island. A question then existed between them whether the last put on more cattle than he ought. It was laid before the legislature. After being long appropriated for pasturage, the Island was selected, 1797, as the location for a Lighthouse. The two lights of so needful an edifice, were first shown January 3, 1798. Thus applied to benefit the mariner and the herdsman, the soil presents an aspect very different from what it did when our ancestors first descried it and sailed by its shore to reach the wilds of Naumkeag.

*Harbors.*—Of these, Wood remarked in 1633: Salem "hath two good Harbours, the one being called Winter and the other Summer Harbour, which lyeth within Darbies Fort." The former, as previously

stated, is what has long been called Cat Cove. With reference to the complicated access to the latter and other havens, the elder Higginson observed: "They are the better, because for strangers there is a verie difficult and dangerous passage into them, but unto such as are well acquainted with them, they are easie and safe enough." Had our chief harbor proved suitably commodious for modern vessels of the largest burthen, as our primitive settlers strongly desired, it would have converted their beloved plantation into an emporium.

#### SOIL.

We have a passage, in the New England Prospect, of more than two centuries old, which gives us the subsequent description: Salem "stands on the middle necke of land very pleasantly, having a South river on the one side and a North river on the other side. Upon this neck, where most of the houses stand, is very bad and sande ground. Yet, for seaven yeares together, it hath brought forth exceeding good corne, by being fished but every third yeare. In some places is very good ground and very good timber, and divers springs hard by the sea-side. Although their land be none of the best, yet beyond these rivers is a very good soyle, where they have taken farmes and get their hay and plant their corne." Though this description accords not with scientific terms, yet it gave a correct account of our territory. A large portion of our unsettled land on the south and west, is of rocky ridges. Such of these, as have not come under the hand of cultivation, are mostly unproductive. The vallies between them are capable of being made fer-

tile. As to the means of reviving exhausted soil by fish, as above mentioned, it was a common practice in all our plantations. Captain John Smith made the ensuing remark: "In Virginia they never manure their overworn fields, which are very few, the ground, for the most part, is so fertile; but in New England they do, striking at every plant of corn a herring or two, which cometh in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to do with." After fish became scarce, through abundance taken for food of the inhabitants and for exportation to foreign ports, the supplies of the barn-yard and of the sea-shore, were of course more depended on to strengthen our lands. Relative to the breaking up of our fields, such employment seems not to have been generally understood by our land-holders. The following vote of our townsmen, 1637, bears upon the opinion. It was agreed, that if Richard Hutchinson "set up ploughing," he should have 20 acres of land added, within two years, to his previous grant. Graham observes, that there were but thirty-seven ploughs at this time in all Massachusetts. As John Blackleach, 1638-9, had "not sufficient ground to mayntaine a plough," on his farm of 300 acres, "the towne for the furthering of his endeavours in plowing and for his incouradgement therein," allow him more land.

With reference to the geological properties of our bounds, they are of several sorts. Our western section is mostly of greenstone, with some bowlders of granite. Our eastern is chiefly of sienite, with some porphyry between Lynn and Marblehead. Professor Hitchcock, in his *Geology of Massachusetts*, a work

which will long direct the memory to the period of its being patronized by our legislative authorities, as an Augustan age of our Commonwealth, describes two noticeable localities within our limits. He says, "It is in Essex county that we find the most abundant and remarkable examples of dikes and veins." He then instances Johnson's Haste: "The island is only a few rods in extent, and is a naked rock of sienite, which is traversed by several distinct veins and dikes of granite and greenstone. Over a considerable part of the surface, it seems as if the greenstone, in fragments, had been thrown into the sienite while in a soft state, and then the whole had been consolidated. We have, at this place, rocks of at least five, and perhaps more epochs." He then speaks of the other place: "By far the most remarkable case of dikes and veins that I have found, occurs in the north part of Salem, on the left hand of the bridge that passes to Beverly, and only a few rods west of it." He proceeds to specify the varieties of which the rock is composed, as greenstone, reddish granite and feldspar. He continues, "The whole space represented is 36 by 27 feet, and the lower part of it is covered by the ocean at high tide, and the upper part by soil. I have spent a good deal of time in examining this complicated and very interesting net work of veins and dikes; and I cannot see why we have not evidence here of the extraordinary fact—unique so far as I know—of *eleven* successive eruptions of granite and trap rock."

## PRODUCTIONS.

These, of the animal and vegetable kinds, have been raised in various quantities, according to the extent of our soil and the pursuits of our population. We shall speak of them mostly in familiar language.

*Grain.*—When our ancestors first reached these shores, they discovered corn cultivated by the natives, and hence they called it Indian Corn. They had a field of it in common with the Naumkeags. They correctly appreciated it as among the principal commendations and supports of the settlement. In a letter of 1631, from Gov. Endicott to Gov. Winthrop, we have the ensuing passage: "I thought further to write what my judgment is for the dismissing of the Court till corn be set. It will hinder us that are afar off exceedingly, and not further you there. Men's labour is precious here in corn setting time, the Plantation being yet so weak." To prevent the scarcity of such grain, the magistrates order, that no person should feed his swine on it, except such as is examined by two or three of his neighbors and by them accounted "unfit for man's meat." Its price, 1634, was  $4/6$  a bushel; 1636,  $5/$ ; and fell to  $2/6$  before 1643. At the date last mentioned, corn became so scarce, that, as Winthrop relates, "Many families, in most towns, had none to eat, but were forced to live of clams, cataos, dry fish, etc." Then, as in all such emergencies, human selfishness was on the alert for gain, and benevolence cast into the back ground. From 1642 to 1694, corn generally averaged from  $2/3$  to  $3/$ . a bushel. In that period its highest valuation

for colony taxes was  $\frac{3}{6}$  and lowest  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Before the farms, so called, became a part of Danvers, they furnished liberal supplies of so valuable an article. There and in other divisions of our township, it has suffered occasionally while on the stock, from different animals. An instance of this sort is told, 1711, in a diary of the Rev. Mr. Green: "Killed grey squirrels that devour the corn exceedingly. They have eaten one quarter of my corn. It is said there are millions of them in this village." Of other enemies, with which such productions have had to contend at various periods, there are divers accounts. Gov. Winthrop remarked, July, 1646: "Great harm was done to corn, especially wheat and barley, in this month, by a caterpillar, like a black worm about one and a half inch long." So it was 1666 and 1685. In 1770, canker-worms, having spread through a large section of New England, appeared in July at Salem. To prevent their ravages, some of our farmers dug trenches round their corn-fields. With regard to barley, rye and wheat, it is very likely that Mr. Conant and his associates endeavored to raise them on our soil. Such an experiment had been successfully made, before 1629, at Plymouth colony. At this date, fresh seed of such articles was imported to Naumkeag from London. Then they were denominated, by our emigrants, English corn—a phrase used to the present day, in Great Britain, to the exclusion of maize. The statement of Johnson, 1633, that "a small gleane of rye was brought to the Court, as the first fruits of English graine," seems to indicate that previous efforts to cultivate such grain were unsuccessful. But this indication is not sustained by facts.



At the same period, Wood says, that however "no great tryall" had been made to raise wheat, still it was found to "grow well in gardens." In 1630, the Planters' Plea, having spoken highly of our corn, says, "If wee like not that, we may make use of our owne Graines, (in Massachusetts,) which agree well with that soyle." The General Court order, 1641, that a deputy from Salem and other towns, inform Captain Gibbons how much wheat may be ready the following March, as an adventure for England, and to be exchanged there for needed commodities. In connection with this, the same authorities remark, that wheat is likely to become a staple commodity of Massachusetts. That the intended ship-load of it might not fall short, they forbid all persons to malt it and to have its flour baked for sale, except for the use of vessels. For taxes, at the colonial treasury, 1642, wheat and barley passed at 4/., rye and peas at 3/4 a bushel. As our ancestors drank beer instead of other beverages common since their day, they thus used no small quantities of barley. Peas were classed by them under the general term of corn. One of our early residents described beans as well as wheat, under the head of grain. Both peas and beans, being indigenous, were raised by our first settlers. As these made considerable use of oat-meal, it is likely that they began to cultivate oats not long after their arrival. Among the productions, paid for public rates, 1680, were oats at 1/8 a bushel. Concerning this sort of grain, and rye and wheat, as being injured by barberry bushes, Salem, 1747, issue an order, that these shrubs should be destroyed. An act of our

Legislature was passed, 1758, for a like purpose. While narrating the manner in which the proscribed plants did the work of desolation, it uses terms hardly consonant with those of botanical science in the present age. It says, "By the steam's flying off from them, they are found by experience to blast." From 1642 to 1694, wheat was generally from 4/. to 6/.; as low as 2/9 one year; barley from 4/. to 5/6—its least price 2/6; rye, 3/4 to 5/.—once 2/.; peas 3/4. to 5/.—lowest estimation 3/. a bushel. On the province and state valuations, the subsequent returns of grain, as raised by this town, are given. No doubt, peas and beans are excluded from the account, however our fathers may have classed them. 1768, 3,113 bushels of grain; 1771, 1,820 bushels. The number of bushels is not given in the three next returns; but they may be calculated more or less correctly. In 1771, there were 86½ acres of tillage. Give this in subsequent years as the ratio to 1,820 bushels, and we have not far from the fact. In 1779, we had 500 acres of tillage; 1781, 299, and 1791, 323 acres. In 1801, we had 9,020 bushels of corn; 1811, 6,735 bushels; 1821, 1,450; 1831, 7,035, and 1840, 1,940 bushels. In 1821, we had 215 bushels of barley. By a return to Congress, 1840, Salem raised in a year, 530 bushels of barley, 100 of oats, 80 of rye, and 2,600 of buckwheat.

*Hay.*—On coming hither, our settlers found abundance of grass to cut and dry. They soon introduced the English grasses from their "father land." As their limits were restricted, their crops of such fodder were consequently less. In 1747, Joseph Buffum

was allowed by our municipal authorities, to "erect an engine for weighing hay," according to rules from the selectmen. The diary of Doctor Holyoke informs us, that in 1749, the crop of this product was less than usual by 9-10ths through the province, and, 1762, that it was very scarce and was sold for \$20 a ton. The inhabitants here voted, 1768, to have hay scales built near the first alms-house, and the income of them for town use. The charge for weighing such an article, 1772, was  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>d</sup> a cwt. for loads of above 8 cwt., and 4<sup>d</sup> for each load of a less quantity. John Elson, at the same date, was allowed all fees from the public scales by paying £3 6<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> a year for them. Having been moved twice to locations westward of the present grammar school, they were exchanged 1826, for patent balances. These were discontinued there 1831. At this date a new place for weighing hay was appointed on Forrester road, which, to accommodate the new court-house, was supplied, 1841, by another, on the same way, at the side of Howard street burial ground. A vote passed, 1789, to have hay scales made near the work-house, by the common. They were finished and let for a yearly rent of £13 19<sup>s</sup>; in 1797, for \$30, and 1799, for \$102, and afterwards for a higher price. They were ordered, 1826, to be united with those of Broad Street. The one, so composed of two, has yielded an annual average profit of \$91, for the last eight years. For the financial year just closed, it has cleared \$177 69. Amount of hay weighed at the city scales is as follows: From 1839 to 1840, 165 tons; 1840 to 1841, 1,640 tons; 1841 to 1842, 1,330 tons; 1842 to 1843,

1,502 tons. In the province and state valuation lists, we have the following returns as to this commodity, raised in Salem :

1763, English, . 395½ tons,	Meadow, . 10	Salt, . 60½
1771, " 518½ "	" 3	" 51

The two ensuing decades give us only the acres :

1781, English and upland, 434	Meadow, 37	Salt, 123
1791, " " 192½	" 8	" 44

The remaining decades show the tons of hay :

1801, English, . 218½ tons,	Meadow, . 00	Salt, . 18
1811, " 775½ "	" 5	" 35½
1821, " 559 "	" 4	" 46
1831, " 877 "	" 17	" 70
1841, " 1,067 "	" 17	" 59

It is observable, from the preceding and other data, that while an acre of English mowing ground, before 1811, yielded but little above a half ton of hay, then and since it has averaged over a whole ton. This shows a hopeful advance in one department of agriculture. Though the meadow lands occasionally exceed the marsh in crops, yet both of them have generally yielded from a half to a ton per acre.

*Garden Vegetables.*—Besides beans and peas, mentioned under grain, our ancestors had nearly all the same kinds of vegetables which we have. Mr. Higginson wrote, 1629 : " This country aboundeth naturally with store of roots of great varietie and good to eat. Our turnips, parsnips and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinary to be found in England. Here are store of pumpions, cowcumbers

and other things of that nature." He adds to these leeks and onions. Some species of the squash were natural to the soil. Whatever culinary commodities were not found here by the emigrants, or if found, were degenerated, were soon supplied or improved by imported seed. As among their common sauce, Joselyn, on his second visit to New England, 1663, spoke of asparagus, beets, cabbages, lettuce and radishes. That the cultivation of all such things might be properly and profitably understood, Mr. Cradock, as before stated, had sent two gardeners for this place, ere the foregoing extract was written. The company ordered, 1629, that potatoes should be transported to our plantation for the purpose of being cultivated. It is very likely that this was done. In 1636, Bermuda potatoes sold in our colony for 2<sup>d</sup> a pound. Whether our fathers cultivated such a vegetable at first or not, they seemed to prefer turnips, that were long used with all the freeness with which we now use potatoes. Such preference began to give way about 1733, in this vicinity. From that period, potatoes, deservedly called by Donaldson, "the *bread-root* of Great Britain and Ireland," became increasingly popular, till many families would almost as soon do without meat for dinner as without them. It has been repeatedly stated, that the Irish, who descended from Scotch Presbyterians, and settled Londonderry, 1719, were followed by their friends before 1722, and that these last introduced the potatoe, "till then unknown in New England." This statement does not entirely agree with the preceding remarks. Nor does it fully harmonize with the fact, that potatoes were first carried from this country to Ireland, and there cultivated

by order of Sir Walter Raleigh. It is not unlikely that such a vegetable was known to the Naumkeags and to our primitive settlers, who declined to raise it abundantly, because another was more acceptable to their taste. A report to Congress of 1840, makes an annual produce of potatoes in Salem, 11,200 bushels. It also gives the value of a year's produce by our market gardeners, at \$400. Among the modern introductions of agriculture to our fields, we have the Swedish turnip.

· *Flax and Hemp.*—Besides hop-roots, ordered by the company for this plantation, 1629, was the addition of flax and hemp seed. The Planters' Plea observes, the soil "being naturally apt for hemepe and flax, may promise us linen sufficient with our labor." The authorities of Salem allowed Samuel Cornhill, 1641, an acre of land for the cultivation of the former. The same year our Legislature required masters to instruct their children and servants to work on wild hemp, "growing all over the country." As evidence of continued interest about these products, our townsmen were warned, 1645-6, to assemble and consider the subject of sowing hemp and flax seed. To encourage the raising of such articles, the Legislature, 1731, offered liberal premiums for five years. This was renewed. Among our municipal officers of 1735, were surveyors of the same commodities. These were so generally cultivated in our province, that they were taken at the public treasury for taxes, 1737—flax at 6<sup>d</sup> and hemp at 4<sup>d</sup> a pound. This was done for several years. Messrs. Joseph Blaney and Samuel Barton, Jr., in a letter from Salem, dated January, 1765, to Edmund Quincy, Esq., state their



experiment in raising hemp. They say, that each of the ten acres of land, planted by them for this purpose the preceding Spring, yielded from 7 to 10 cwt. They remark, that such a plant was as easily cultivated as flax, and might be very profitable. They express their wonder that it is no more extensively produced.

*Fruits.*—Of these Mr. Higginson related, 1629, "Mulberries, plums, raspberries, corrance, chesnuts, filberds, wa'nuts, smalnuts, hurtleberries, and hawes of white thorne neere as good as our cherries in England, they grow in plentie here." He before spoke of wild strawberries as abundant in the plantation. Among other indigenous fruits were black, blue, crane, goose and thimble berries, and the oil nut. About 1663, Indians sold chesnuts for 1<sup>s</sup> a bushel. Measures were taken in London, 1629, to supply our colonists with stones of the cherry and peach, and with seeds of the apple, pear and quince. In 1648-9, William Trask exchanged 250 acres of land with Governor Endicott, for 500 apple trees of three years growth. In the valuations of Salem, were the following barrels of cider returned, with the year prefixed: 1768, 140 barrels; 1771, 39; 1791, 9; 1811, 32, and 1821, 31. A statement of the judicial marshal, 1840, sets the value of our orchard products for a year, at \$1,730. Respecting grapes, as the description of Mr. Higginson states, they were plentiful and much was expected from them. It was supposed that they would furnish wines for the European market. Means were used to raise the foreign grape here. Mr. Herbert Pelham, 1635, sent over different species of vines to Governor Winthrop; but the coldness of

our soil appears to have discouraged the long cultivation of them, though within twenty years, parts of the same territory have been successfully applied, to a considerable degree, for such a purpose. The unprofitableness of our native grapes put an end to the vineyards in which they were planted.

*Trees.*—The account of Mr. Higginson, 1629, remarks: "For wood there is no better in the worlde, I thinke, here being foure sorts of oke. There is also good ash, elme, willow, birch, beech, saxafras, juniper, cipres, cedar, spruce, pines and firre, that will yield abundance of turpentine, pitch, tarre, masts, and other materials for building both ships and houses. Also here are store of sumacke trees. They are good for dying and tanning of leather. Likewise such trees yeeld a precious gem called wine benjamin, that they say is excellent for perfumes." The list, here quoted, may be enlarged by other trees, natural to our soil, as the aspin, bass, locust and maple, with such as bear fruits, specified under the last head. However the forests, composed of the preceding varieties, once spread over our territory, they have scarcely a remnant here and there. Our garden fruit trees are of foreign origin. With regard to our ornamental trees, they were chiefly of the elm, mulberry, pine, spruce and willow till nearly a half century ago. Then came the Lombardy poplar, which was in great vogue, till suspected of breeding a poisonous asp. This with its liability to speedy decay and its injury to the soil around it, proved its rejection in less than twenty years. Like descending fame, its degradation was speedier than its elevation. Weeping willows, regaining their former favor, horse-chesnut and moun-

tain ash succeeded the poplar. About ten years since the catalpa was introduced.

While the forest was gradually diminished in our borders, frequent rules were adopted by our townsmen for its regulation. In 1635-6, "Whosoever hath or shall cutt any trees and leave them in the paths about the towne to the disturbance of carts, catle or passengers, not being removed within fiftene dayes, shall forfeit 5/. for each such offence. Informers, with evidence, to haue halfe of the fynes." After several months an additional order was made. It was voted that if any tree remained in the way, when cut down on the town commons, for one month, any person might take it "to his owne proper vse." It was ordered, 1640, "That such as have timber trees within twoe miles of the towne of Salem, and any timber trees within one mile of Marblehead, that are fitt for shippinge, that such as haue felled them, shall be paid for theer labour, either for theer felling, which is done already, or for sawinge, if they will bestow that labor vppon them for plank for shippinge, to be paid by such ship carpenters, as are willing to imploy them for that vse. And that none shall cleaue such trees vp to clapboards or pipe staues. And if the ship carpenters shall refuse the said plank, so saved, at the rate of the Countrie, then it shall be lawfull for them to sell them to any other." Thus careful, that our forest trees, fit for the erection of vessels, should not be employed for less appreciated purposes, our fathers again endeavored, 1642, to arrest an increasing practice of cutting them down, on our commons, without proper liberty. Their injunction ran thus: "There shall noe more trees be felled by any man within the

lymits of Salem, vnless it be in men's proprieties, vppon the payne of 20/. for everie such tree felled by any man, whither inhabitant or stranger, and that this order be presently published and notice given to such as sett them on work, provided, that this order extend not to any that shall fell any tymber for his owne building, or fencing, or building of ships here, within the lymits of our towne, without spetiall lycence from a magistrate." Admonitions of this sort came long and often from the lips of our authorities. Then, as ever, conscience was generally far less scrupulous about public injury, than private detriment. The temptation which so tried it, has passed away. With the preceding interdicts, came some permissions. Leave was given, 1670, to cut fire wood "lying deepe vppon the ground in swamps." The same year, William Lord was appointed "corder of wood," and to have 3<sup>d</sup> a cord, paid by the purchaser. The period has long since gone by when our own soil furnished us with abundant fuel. The diary of Dr. Holyoke informs us, that in February of 1757, it being very cold with much snow, wood was sold here for £4 to £4 15<sup>s</sup> per cord. The only specific returns of our wood land to General Court, as found on their documents, were 70 acres in 1811, and 14 in 1821. Our dependence for fire materials, is on other places. Besides abundance of coal, the wood and bark brought to Salem market from adjacent towns, were 1,860 cords from 1838 to 9; 1,792½—1839 to 40; 1,819½—1840 to 1; 1,540¾—1841 to 2; 1,460—1842 to 3. This is but a small proportion of what is annually imported into our city from more distant parts, chiefly from Maine. The judicial marshal of our Common-

wealth, in 1840, estimated that 30,000 cords were sold in Salem during a year. In lieu of exporting lumber and timber from our own limits, we have long had it brought to us, principally from the last mentioned State. The following quantities, which came by water, were landed here and surveyed: 1840 to 1841—538 10-40 tons of hewed timber; 4,102,686 feet of pine, spruce, and hemlock lumber and timber; 45,983 feet of hard wood lumber, board measure, and 6,696 feet of scab, ranging timber. 1841 to 1842—577 3-40 tons of the first among these articles; 4,090,081 feet of the second; 82,970 feet of hard wood and mahogany timber, board measure. 1842 to 1843—709 38-40 of the first; 5,611,869 of the second, and 37,506 of the third, except mahogany, with the addition of lumber, in the last year.

Before leaving the productions of a vegetable kind, it is thought advisable to give a general outline of the plants, not previously enumerated and anciently known as the growth of our soil. In his *Rarities of New England*, Mr. Josselyn described the plants which were natives of our territory and still common in Old England. The following is a list of this class in his own orthography. Alder's tongue, (probably adder's,) autumn bell flower, alexanders, angelica, arsmart, avens, brakes, catmint, chickweed, cinkfoil, clivers, clotbur, columbines, catstail, daffodill yellow, dewgrass, dogstones, dovesfoot, dragons, earth nut, egrimony, fearn, flower de luce blue, fuss balls, glasswort, hedghog grass, hellibore white, herb Robert, knobby cranes bill, lilly convalie, lilly red, lilly water, liverwort, matweed, mouse ear, oak of Capadocia,

oak of Hierusalem, pellamount, penniroyal, pimperl, purcelane, rosepennywort, rupterwort, St. Johnswort, St. Peterswort, sea plantane, of three species, small water archer, Solomon's seal, of three species, sorrel, speedwell, spurge lawrel, spurge time, stitchwort, tormentile, violets, of three species, watercresses, wild mint, woodbine, woodwax, and yarrow. The same author gives an account of plants which grew here and not in England. Briony, or rather scammony, hollow leaved lavender, Homer's molley, live forever, loosestrife, maiden hair, marygold, mountain lillie, mustard, New England daysie, pirola, of two species, pooke, sarsaparilla, of two varieties, sea tears, solar plant, sweet fern, sweet flag, true love, tree primrose, and wild damask roses. Mr. Josselyn then described several of our native plants, as having no name. Of such were the noli me tangere, skunk cabbage, small sun flower, and snake head. He also gave a list of plants, having "sprung up since the English planted and kept cattle in New England." Some of this order are previously mentioned. Black henbane, blood root, cheekweed, clotbur, compherie, couch-grass, dandelion, groundsæl, knot grass, mallows, mayweed, mullen, nettles stinging, night shade, patience, plaintain, "which the Indians call English man's foot, as though produced by their treading," sharp pointed dock, shepherd's purse, sow thistle, wild arrach, and wormwood. As his final head on this topic, the same author narrated the plants of England which grew well in our territory. Of this class are the following. Annis, bayes, burnet, cherval, coriander, dill, English roses, enula campana, fennel, fetherfew, gilly flowers, ground ivy, holly hocks,



hous leek, muschata, musk mellon, parsley, pepperwort, purslain, sage, smalledge, spearmint, summer and winter savory, sweet briar or eglantine, tansie, and white satten. As our pasture lands have come under cultivation, so, of course, accommodations for our wild plants have diminished. The period will soon elapse, when the quantity and number of them must be less than even now. The most of those which find no protection in our gardens, will, ere long, cease to appear within our boundaries. It is readily perceived, that the foregoing arrangement and expression of Mr. Josselyn, differ considerably from the mode of modern botanists. Still it contains the substance of knowledge, which is always science, though less regularly presented than subsequent experience would dictate. It affords an opportunity to institute comparisons, which show that the products of our territory were investigated many years ago, and that there is cause for congratulation, that much progress has been made in this department of human study.

In some respects, marked is the contrast between our ancient and modern productions. The founders of a community struggle to introduce and continue the necessities of subsistence, and leave to their posterity the advancement which results from well-applied age, wealth, and leisure. The annual display of flowers and fruits in our own city and other places, discover such difference. Many of our yards and gardens give similar testimony. Of late years, much attention has been paid, by a portion of our citizens, to the culture of the dahlia, geranium, rose, tulip, verbena, and others of the floral order. The last

year's exhibition of the Natural History Society, whose exertions deserve high praise, presented 60 varieties of the geranium, 150 of the rose, 200 of the dahlia, and so liberally of other kindred specimens. A like enterprise is manifested with reference to fruits. The same Association showed, last autumn, 300 varieties—10 of the grape, 30 of the peach, 70 of the apple, 150 of the pear, and the rest of various samples. As a newly adopted vegetable among us, is the tomato. Being a native of South America, it was carried to Europe and raised in England before 1600. Still, for a long period, it was no favorite in our northern States. For twenty years, it has been rising in the estimation of our larger towns and cities. It is now extensively used by the people of Salem. It bids fair to hold a long reign among the fashions of the esculent kingdom. Like the potato, slow in its rise, it is likely to be slow in its fall.

#### ANIMAL PRODUCTIONS.

These have been generally mentioned on pages 119, 120, 121, according to the relation of Mr. Higginson.

*Fowl.*—Of these, the same writer remarked, 1629: "They are plentiful here and of all sorts, as we have in England, as farre as I can learn, and a great many of strange fowls, which we know not." With regard to one kind of them, Gov. Dudley speaks in a letter of 1631, to the Countess of Lincoln: "Vpon the 8 of March, from after it was faire day light untill about 8 of the clock in the forenoon, there flew over all the towns in our plantacons soe many flocks of doues, each flock conteyning many thousands, and some soe many that they obscured the light, that

passeth credit, if but the truth should bee written." This author, not having before witnessed any such sight, thought it portended some great event. But Gov. Winthrop noticed, 1643 and 1648, two vast flocks of similar birds, which afforded the colonists abundance of acceptable food. Besides the wild ducks, pigeons, geese and turkies, noted by Mr. Higgiuson, he also spoke of the partridge, eagle and various hawks. The birds of different species, which the plan of his description did not allow him to designate, have still descendants in our bounds. Among birds of prey, are the buzzard and owl. Of the omnivorous, are the black-bird, blue-jay, bobolink, cedar-bird, chichadee, crow, hang-bird and lark. Of the insectivorous, are the blue-bird, cat-bird, king-bird, pewee, phœbe, and other fly-catchers, robin, thrush, yellow-bird, warbler and wren. Of the granivorous, are the gold and other finches, indigo-bird, snow-bird, snow-bunting and sparrows. Of the zygodactyli, are varieties of the woodpecker. Of slender-bills, are the creeper and humming-bird. Of the halcyon, is the king-fisher. Of the swallow tribe, are several species, including the martin and whippowill. Of wading-birds, are the bittern, curlew, godwit, heron, plovers, sanderling, sandpipers, snipes, tattlers, turnstone, yellow shanks and woodcock. Of the lobe-footed, are the coot and grebe. Of the web-footed, are the cormorant, divers, gull, coon, puffin, razor-billed auk, shag, stormy petrel and tern. While the diminution of our woods has greatly reduced those of the feathered tribe which love not to come around our habitations, others of them, differently inclined, please the eye

with their plumage and the ear with their songs. Who "can forbear to join the general smile of nature,—while ev'ry grove is melody?"

Salem, not having been so agricultural a place as others, has issued less orders for destroying the more injurious among this class of animals. They voted, 1818, that the act of the Legislature, in their last session, to prevent the killing of useful birds, at unseasonable times, be so far suspended, as to permit the shooting of robins, between June 20 and July 4 of the same year. With regard to our domesticated pigeons, ducks, hens, geese and turkies, they were early brought from England. Speaking, 1633, of eggs, probably those of the hen, Wood stated the price of them at 3<sup>d</sup> a dozen. It seems that while the poor geese thought creation made for them as well as man, they became the objects of proscription. An order is given here, 1631-2, that such creatures shall be kept from going on the common lands after the last of June, and "y<sup>t</sup> it shall bee at the liberty of any man to kill them, if found vpon y<sup>e</sup> common after y<sup>e</sup> abouesayd time."

*Fish.*—As additional to the "herring, turbot, sturgeon, cuskes, hadocks, mullets and eeles," as well as "bass, whales, crampuse and mackerils," mentioned by Mr. Higginson, we have others in our waters. The alewife, which is the aloof of the Indians, and hard heads, both used for bait. Those in general use are the cod, halibut, perch or conner, plaice and smelt. Others, less plenty, are cat-fish, coal-fish, frost-fish, hake, pollock and shad. The black-fish is a new comer to our shores. Of our fresh water fish, once abundant but now seldom taken, are bream, perch,

pickerell, pike, pout and trout. The stickleback, sucker and tom-cod, of salt water, and the minnow of the brook, are of little account. So it is with the bull-heads, dog-fish and sculpin. With regard to other fish which swarmed our coast when our fathers came hither, the bass, salmon, and sturgeon, whose sounds were made into isinglass, are seldom caught. In reference to the bass and cod, the Legislature, 1639, forbid them to be used for manure, except their heads and offal. As an indication of the profit which the latter kind of animal has been to our State, and also of its abundance, we have the following: An indenture for a new draw over our North River, 1755, has a circular stamp on its top, which besides II pence at the bottom, has a cod in the middle, and, round the fish, "Staple of the Massachusetts." The last year a sturgeon was taken here and excited much curiosity. Occasionally an adventurous seal enters our harbor. Varieties of the porpoise still sport in our offing. The ancients assigned them more intelligence than the moderns. Pliny the elder, relates, that one of these fish bore a boy on its back, across a sea, to and from school. Having never witnessed such a scene, we must withhold credence from the philosopher's story. Among the monsters of the deep, the thresher and mackerel-shark, are not unfrequently seen, but the whale, whose plentifulness once gave employment to our fishers, rarely shows itself. While on this topic of monsters, we are reminded of one which might properly be classed with reptiles. It is the sea serpent, which for a considerable period has crossed our outer waters at pleasure. Of this creature, Josselyn gives a remarkable account. He says

that some gentlemen, who called on him, 1639, gave him the ensuing relation: "They told me of a sea serpent or snake, that lay quailed up like a cable upon a rock at Cape Ann. A boat passing by with English aboard and two Indians, they would have shot the serpent, but the Indians dissuaded them, saying, that if he were not killed outright, they would be all in danger of their lives."

Respecting mackerel, 2,394 barrels of them were packed 1836, having been taken by vessels from Beverly and Salem. It is to be regretted, that in this and many other instances, the exact number of commodities for each town, has not been given from the custom house. Perspicuous and satisfactory statistics very much need a change in so long continued a practice of putting these two places together, in our maritime reports to the public. As a clearer source of information, we have a statement of our assessors to the Secretary of Massachusetts. It is, that for the year from April 1, 1836 to 1837, there were 5,464 quintals of cod and 2,569 barrels of mackerel, caught by our fishermen. In returns made to the State department of Congress, 1840, Salem is represented as having cured in one year 7,500 quintals and pickled 10 barrels of fish. Relative to alewives, they have been an occasion of much municipal and legislative action. Coursing up the streams of different communities, they have been subjected to unsteady rules. For a long period, this city have chosen a committee to look after these fish. Among their various orders, is one of 1748, which requires individuals to execute the laws "for the preservation of fish called alewives, to appoint proper places for the taking of such fish



in scoop nets, and to limit the particular times and days for taking the same in town, for the ensuing year." Concerning other kinds, they appointed, 1769, persons to superintend "salmon, shad and such fish, as usually pass up into the natural ponds to cast their spawn." Respecting shell-fish, we have no small variety. Of the crustaceous, are the crab, horse-shoe, lobster and shrimp. Of the testaceous, are the clam, muscle and quahaug. As to one of these, Salem adopted an order, 1724, "that muscles shall not be used for making lime, or for any thing else, except for food and bait to catch fish." Of our land and water shells, about 150 species have been collected.

*Reptiles.*—Our resorts for this class of animals, except that of the house adder, are continually diminishing. We have varieties of the turtle, frog, newt and toad; of the chequered and water adder, black, brown, green, rattle and striped snakes. The rattle snake, anciently adduced in England against emigration hither, has always been dreaded by those who have known and crossed its haunts. Its number, as a kind arrangement of Providence, has been comparatively small and is continually on the decrease.

*Insects.*—Of these, constituting a large proportion of all the animal race, we have a common share. Neither our plan nor space allows an enumeration of them. We have some to try the patience, the bee to cater for the taste, and the glow-worm to please the eye with its nightly illuminations. The musketoe, which pays no respect to condition or character in search of its nourishment, is much lessened in its numbers. This is owing, in one respect, to the clearing and raising of our low lands.

## WILD QUADRUPEDS.

Reverting to such animals as dwelt in our original forests, we perceive that some of their species still remain. These are the bat, fox, mink, mole, muskrat, rabbit or hare, racoon, skunk, squirrel, weasel and woodchuck. With regard to sly Renard, he seems to have been detected in some operations against the poultry of our ancestors and suffered the extremity of punishment. In 1656, our town authorities paid 10/. for the killing of ten foxes. Similar severity was exercised before this and afterwards. The mice and rats, which give our good housewives so much annoyance, and would be enough, if they were to entirely disappear, have different accounts given of their origin. Some authors have represented them as brought hither from Europe. One work says, that our present rats came over about the commencement of our Revolutionary war. But Josselyn, on his revisit to us, 1663, remarks, "the rat hath been brought in since the English came, but the mouse is a native, of which there are several kinds." Of those which have forsaken our borders, are the bear, beaver, deer, moose, otter, ounce or wild-cat, and wolf. The diary of Rev. Mr. Green, of Salem Village, says, 1700, "killed a wild-cat." Our Legislature passed an act to encourage the destruction of such creatures, 1728, because they had done much damage. Of this dreaded animal, we occasionally hear as in our vicinity. With the deer, for its utility, and the wolf, for its destructiveness, our fathers had much to do. Before attending particularly to these two animals, we notice the bear. This creature, though not so hurt-

ful to our flocks as the wolf, was far from being a safe neighbor. Like the other ferocious beasts, its numbers decreased as its woody habitation became circumscribed by our population. In September of 1699, the woods were much infested with them. They did not entirely leave our outskirts for sixty years after this abundant appearance. With regard to the deer, it lingered long on our borders. For the taking of them, as before observed, an individual came over, 1629, who was acquainted with such employment. For an extended period, committees were chosen annually from our inhabitants to enforce the province law for their preservation. This was done as far down as 1767. Among the beasts which most tried the patience and called forth the vigilance of our fathers, was the wolf. This creature, from their first landing here, made frequent contributions on their flocks. Hence, their repeated consultation, orders and efforts to hinder such perilous devastation. Winthrop informs us, September 30, 1630, that Salem lost six calves by wolves, and killed but one of these destroyers. Such repeated losses led the Court of Assistants, the succeeding November 9, to adopt the subsequent order: "Every Englishman who kills a wolf, within this Patent, shall have 1<sup>d</sup> for every beast and horse and 1 farthing for every weaned swine and goat in every plantation." Such a requisition showed deep concern for the safety of edible animals in our own and the other few infant settlements. Among our early sufferers from the deadly visits of the wolf, was Mr. Skelton. As additional means of combatting this animal, William Pynchon, colonial treasurer, delivers Salem, 1635, twenty-five wolf hooks. At this

date, our first records mention "the great Pen." This was probably made soon after the arrival of our primitive settlers. It was the resort of cattle, morning and evening, when the herdsmen drove them to and from the pastures. It seems also to have been intended as a safeguard for such creatures, against the wily attacks of their besetting enemies, while kept waiting for their drivers and owners. Of the repeated rewards, offered by our authorities, several will be given as specimens. Their public notice of 1640 is, "that if any man within the towne of Salem, shall take any wolfe within the precincts of Salem, and bring him to the meeting-howse alive, hee shall haue for euerie such wolfe 15/. and for euerie wolfee hee kille, hee shall haue 10/. to be paid vnto him by the towne." They had previously offered a higher premium for the heads of such animals. They issue another proposal in 1644: "It is ordered, that whosoever shall take any wolfe by trapes or falls, within the lymits of Salem, shall haue for euery such wolfe, so taken, 30/., and for euery wolfe that is killed by gunnes or peece, there shall be 15/. paid vnto him that killes any wolfe with his peece." To increase the means of warring successfully against such depredators, it was voted by our people, 1645, that a "halfe a dozen or 4 braches<sup>1</sup> or hounds, shall be brought out of England, and the chardge borne by the Towne." Continually did our annual accounts show, that the promise to wolf hunters was punctually redeemed. An order of 1660-1, indicates a liberal advance in their compensation. It

<sup>1</sup> In old French, *Rach* means the dog-hound, and *Brache*, the female. Mr. Winthrop, 1633, received from London four Irish grey-hounds.

runs thus: Ordered, that all that have killed any wolves formerly are to haue 15/. pr wolue, and for the yeare ensuinge 2/10 pr wolue." The succeeding year, our Legislature co-operated with the towns in this work. The price was reduced to 40/. in 1664-5, with a condition, that its claimants "bring the heads and nayle them on the meeting-house." Our records notice more wolves, for which recompense was legally asked, for ten years immediately previous to 1670, than at any other equal period. The premium, in 1680, for each of these creatures was 30/. In 1710, a townsman was awarded 20/. for killing a full grown wolf, "y<sup>e</sup> head of which being presented to one of the constables and one of the selectmen, and the ears cut off, as the law directs." The last transaction of this kind, seen on our records, was eight years afterwards. For more than a quarter of a century from this date, our precincts were not entirely cleared from so persecuting a foe to our flocks, which would have its prey in despite of the watchful dog and the deadly implements of the husbandman.

## DOMESTICATED QUADRUPEDS.

Of these, kept to prevent the depredations of other animals, are the cat and dog. Our ancestors so knew the use of such appendages to every agricultural household, as not to refuse them a passage to this country. Wood, relating the means, which our planters used to arrest the spoiling of their grain by squirrels, observed 1633, "they are constrained to carry their cats into the corne fields." Josselyn, on his second visit here, says: "Catts and dogs are as com-

mon as in England ; but our dogs degenerate ; the Indians store themselves with them, being much better for their turn than their breed of wild dogs." With all the favoritism which many of such creatures have had with their kind owners, they have not been without the sufferings of proscription. In 1756, a war of extermination seems to have been carried on here against the race of poor puss. Then an individual was appointed to bury them at 1/. apiece. This was probably done to hinder the spread of the small-pox. If gifted with sufficient knowledge and speech, they might have justly said, Oh ! for the days of Howel the Good, who had our lives and liberties protected by the strong arm of law. Dogs have been subjected to much greater trial. When they guarded the flocks, the barn and the house, against the intrusion of ferocious beasts and the vindictive savage, their value was much greater. Still the misdeeds of some brought them into difficulties. As before stated, those on Winter Neck were early doomed to have each a leg tied up, so that they should get no taste of the fish laid upon the adjacent flakes. A more public notice was taken of the canine tribe, though not more agreeable to their feelings. The Legislature ordered, 1648, that if any one of them should kill a sheep, it should be hung and its master be fined. At the time when the cats were ordered to be buried, so were the dogs, apparently for the same cause. A similar precaution was used in the reign of Charles II. Defoe's account of the plague in London, relates, that an immense number of these animals were killed there, lest they should spread so dreadful a pestilence. The dogs here have



endured several hot persecutions, lest their maddened bite should prove the horrible death of our inhabitants. An order was issued, 1831, that if found without collars around their necks, containing the names of their owners, they should be destroyed. It also required, that during the warm months, they should appear with wire muzzles, which was repealed in 1833. It assessed two dollars a year on each holder of a dog for keeping it; specified fines for neglect of the regulation, and made provision for a registrar to keep an account of all such animals as should be licensed. To enforce the by-law, a bounty of one dollar was appointed, 1840, for every person who should kill any one of these creatures, found in the city, destitute of the prescribed appendage to its neck. Thus our canine friends are necessarily subjected to hard measure, for the calamity which their disease may inflict on our citizens.

Among the edible quadrupeds brought over by the settlers of this community, were swine, goats, sheep and cattle. To prevent the intrusion of these creatures into tilled lands and the consequent evils of animosity, the ensuing rule was adopted: "It is determined, 1637-8, that all home fences for cornfields and gardens, be sufficiently made vp by the 15<sup>th</sup> of the first month vpon y<sup>e</sup> penalty of tenn shillings."

*Swine.*—By all the records of ancient plantations, much attention seems to have been given to this class of animals. To keep them and their owners in proper order, hog-reeves were long chosen among the annual officers. In modern times, individuals were elected to such a trust, sometimes for sport, but more often to gratify private pique. While these

creatures were abundant in our limits, various regulations were made and practised. In 1638, "it is ordered, that all swine shall goe vnder keepers or be kept vp, and that all swine taken abroad without a keeper, it shall be lawfull for any man to pound them, and to haue for euery swine 2/6 before they be taken out of the penn, and all damages." Two persons were appointed such keepers, 1640; were to haue 6<sup>d</sup> for each one they drove, and continue their labor from 6th of April to 15th of November. Their instructions follow: "They are to blow their horne and the townes men to bring their swine out to them, as they goe alonge by their homes. They are to driue them out" at 6 o'clock in the morning and back at sunset; "and every one is to receaue his owne swine and keepe them in all night. And the keeps shalbe (answerable) for any swine that are lost; but for such swine as are kiled by wilde beasts and they bring home the" remains, they shall not be responsible. "That the Lord's day may be improued by such as are the keeps, it is ordered, that the said keeps shall one, one Lord's day, and the other, the other Lord's day, by turns, keepe them. And it is agreed that euery such two families, as are named by the said keeps, shall prouide one man for the helping one of the keeps to keep swine vppon the Lord's day." This was care, worthy of the public sentiment which then honored the Sabbath. It was required, 1644, that every hog, above ten weeks old, should "be sufficientlie ringed," or its owner be fined 2/. The following year such creatures were yoked. With these indications, that they so used their liberty as it appeared licentiousness to the injured farmers,

the swine continued along till some of them did more alarming evil. Then, 1681, it was ordered, that whereas while loose they are dangerous to the life and limb of young children, any person may kill them, if found at large, from the bridge to the point of rocks, and have one half of the body and the other be for the poor. With regard to such restriction of these creatures, there was here, as well as elsewhere, an instability of purpose. Some years it was voted, that they might roam abroad, and in others that they should be closely confined to their pens. Parties on a hog question could be rallied as fully as on one of political importance. This shows that zeal to carry a point, is not a sure sign that its motive is proportionably worthy. Our State valuations give the ensuing returns of swine from Salem: 9 swine in 1768; 77, 1771; 93, 1781; 49, 1791; 118, 1801; 110, 1811; 70, 1821; 109, 1831, and 254, 1841.

*Goats.*—These animals being more able to endure the privations of a passage to our shores than the cow, did our planters good service. Josselyn remarks, that they "were the first small cattle they had in the Countrey; he was counted no body, that had not a trip or flock of goats." In 1629, there were 40 of these in Naumkeag. Our neck was a considerable resort for creatures of this kind. As previously stated, they were ordered away from such commons, 1635, so that the grass might grow six days and then be cropped by the cattle on the Sabbath, and thus holy time be as little intruded on as possible, by the latter animals requiring less attention and keepers than they did at other times, when driven to the great pasture.

The goat-herd was allowed, 1637, for a year's attendance, 2/. for each milch goat. There were two persons who held this trust, 1639. Together they were to have £32 annually, in quarterly payments. Their instructions say: "The goates are to be driuen out an hower after the sun is vp, and brought into the pen neer the pownd an hower afore sun settinge. The chardges of the pen to be borne by the owners of the goates." When any of these strayed and were impounded, the price for such durance, 1644, was 2<sup>d</sup> a head. The value of a ewe goat, 1633, was £3 to £4, and 1638, £5. In the colonial valuation for taxes, 1646, a goat, above a year old, was estimated at 8/.; 1694, 4/.; 1727, 3/. With the cessation of the need for such creatures, their value lessened and the pains to rear them discontinued. It is long since they formed a prominent part of our farming stock. Though on the valuation list of our Commonwealth, 1784, Salem has a return under the long standing column of sheep and goats, yet of the latter there must have been then very few, if any at all, among our agriculturists. Like many other possessions, once highly appreciated for their utility, they have gone down and disappeared from the accounts of modern chattels. The sight of the goat-herd, pursuing his beaten track with his well known flock, to our wild highlands, no longer enlivens the lover of rural scenes, nor throws around our prospect some semblance to the pastoral portions of Europe.

*Sheep.*—Of these useful animals none appear to have been in our plantation, 1629, when Mr. Higginson wrote to his friends in England. He desired that persons intending to emigrate hither, would bring

over some of them. Very likely this request was soon granted. In 1637, when a contract was made with the goat-herd of Salem, he took charge of sheep with goats. Then might be seen the latter animals taking the lead of the drove and thus keeping the former in their rear, according to their instinctive desire and habit. Even the goat knew the pains as well as pleasures of ambition to be at the head. The goat-herd agreed to take care of each wether for 1/. ; of every ewe lamb, after weaned, for the same ; and every wether lamb for 6<sup>d</sup>, the year round. As woollen cloth was scarce on account of the European wars, the Legislature, 1645, recommended to this and other towns to preserve and increase their sheep. In 1654, the same authorities, to promote a supply of the like commodity, forbid the transportation of such animals to foreign ports, and the killing of any, under two years old, except for the owner's family. The ensuing votes, of 1702, were passed by our townsmen : " That no shepherd shall take or keep any sheep of any person who is not an inhabitant of this town, on Salem common, on penalty of 3/. for each sheep so kept, one half to y<sup>e</sup> informer or prosecutor, the other half to y<sup>e</sup> poor ; that all sheep y<sup>t</sup> go on y<sup>e</sup> common, shall be kept by the shepherds between a line running from y<sup>e</sup> Butts to y<sup>e</sup> head of Forrest River and Lynne line." Vigilant for guarding our live stock against contagion, the General Court, 1709, inform this and other towns, " that the sheep on the islands and necks in or near Boston, have an infectious disease, called the *scab*, lately brought from beyond sea." As commerce extended among our population, and our agricultural precincts were separated from us, our enu-

meration of these creatures was lessened. In public taxes, those of a year or more old, were estimated as follows: 1646, £1 10<sup>s</sup>; 1657, £1 5<sup>s</sup>; 1662, 10/.; 1687, 8/.; 1694, 4/.; 1727, 3/.; and of the last price down to 1776. In accounts to the Legislature, sheep are so coupled with goats that we cannot ascertain how many there were of each sort. No public statistics should ever thus mix up distinct items. It never satisfies the subsequent searcher for specific facts. The probability is, that when such accounts were handed in, we had few or no goats. We quote the column as it stands, in reference to this place: 1768, 46 sheep and goats of a year old and upwards; 1771, 44; 1781, 51 of six months and above. The return of 1840 to Congress, assigns 12 sheep to our city, and thus can furnish but very slight materials to the poet for a pastoral. A considerable period prior to 1768, the fewness of such animals could not support a distinct keeper. The professional occupation of a shepherd among us was discontinued. The crosier was laid aside, the watch-dog dismissed, and the beaten walks grown over with grass.

*Cattle.*—As the emigrants from Cape Ann to Naumkeag had such stock there, they very probably brought part of them hither. In 1629, our inhabitants numbered forty cows. With reference to moose, as a substitute for oxen, Wood observed: "The English have some thoughts of keeping them tame and to accustome them to the yoake, which will be a great commoditie." The same author also stated, that a wolf would attack a red calf sooner than a black one, because the former looked more like a deer, and that, from this, a red calf was cheaper than its black mate.



With what anxiety the expected loss of kine was viewed by our ancestors, because an essential means for the sustenance of community, is manifested in the subsequent passage. It is in a letter of 1631, from Gov. Endicott to Gov. Winthrop. "There are at Mr. Hewson's plantation five or six kine very ill and in great danger. I fear they will hardly escape it, whereof two are mine, and all I have, which are worse than any of the rest. I left mine there this winter to do Mr. Skelton a pleasure to keep his for him here at Salem, that he might have the benefit of their milk." This article was sold, 1633, at 1<sup>d</sup> a quart. Such animals being so valued, there were frequent and particular rules for their preservation. In 1637, "its agreed that Roger Morie, neatherd, shall begin the keeping of all the Towne cattle, 1<sup>st</sup> day of 2<sup>d</sup> month next, and to continew his help with the help of another sufficient man, during the space of 8 months compleat. And that euery two cattle shall find one for the carefull looking vnto them on the Lord's days. And that the neat herd shall be ready at the penn gate an hower after sun-rise each morning, to take all the Towne catle to feed, and whoso shall not haue their catle ready att that tyme, are either to bring them after the heard, (i. e.) to the heard, or else the losse y<sup>t</sup> acrews to their catle through such neglect, to lye vpon themselues, and in case the neatherds faile on either of their parts, ir not taking them forth, bringing them home, or care fully looking vnto them, that y<sup>a</sup> the said Roger Morie is liable to further examinacon, and being found faultie, to the sensure of the Towne. And in liew o their service, the said Roger to have 7/. per head o

all, excepting bulls, to be paid them by fower equall portions, always one quarter beforehand." Lieut. Davenport contracted, 1637-8, to perform this service for £36 a year ; " to keep his man constantly about the same and put in another man, such as the Towne shall approue off." The cattle to be driven from the pen a half hour after sun-rise and returned a half hour before sun-set. In 1638-9, the ensuing regulations were adopted : " Ordered, that the drie catle shalbe put out to the farmes round about, and that none shall goe with the milch coves in the common this year. Euerie man shall prouide for their owne calues." The seven men are to agree with " keeps of the milch kine. All the kine that are kept vppon the cow pastures shalbe paid for by the owners of them to the keeps of the heard ; and if any farmers doe put their coves to eat vp the cow pastures, then they also shalbe lyable to pay for their kine to the keep of the heard, according to the tyme they keepe them there." The herdsmen, 1641, had charge of about 90 cows, besides those which the farmers took care of themselves. Cattle for being impounded were fined, 1644, at the rate of 2<sup>d</sup> a head. Robert Pease was employed, 1655, to keep 100 cows, being a part of the town drove, and to have help so that he might attend worship every third Sabbath. This provision, that the neatherd might partly cease from his work of necessity to enjoy the privileges of the sanctuary, was long continued. Thus the desire of employers for gain was so controlled, as not to debar their servants from the bread of spiritual life. Better founded would be the hope of community, had such a practice, in public concerns, equally prevailed to our day.

It was ordered, 1655-6, that the cows "from the bridge and so downward, and 'one the great neck," should form one herd. The neatherd, 1656-7, had £24 a season, providing a sufficient man or boy to assist him. He had his pay, one quarter in butter, one quarter in wheat, and the rest in Indian corn. In 1662, all who would not put their kine under the driver and suffered them to feed on the common, were required to pay 12<sup>d</sup> a cow towards his compensation. We might quote further from the oft repeated contracts with the herdsmen; but as the subject prevents them from containing variety of thought, there is little need of a fuller reference to them. In that of 1695, however, we have the mention of a custom, which was welcome, at least to the younger part of society, and not altogether without interest to the worthy housewife, desirous to see the supplier of her dairy well off in the morning, and especially well back at night: it was, that the cow driver, as he called for his charge and brought them home, should "sound or winde a horne at the end of each cross street in the Towne according to former vsage." From 1663 to 1700, the herdsman received for each cow of his drove from 3/3 to 4/6. Sometimes the terms of his compensation were, one third in money or butter, and the remainder in pay, such as grain and goods. As no long period after this, concerns of the preceding sort fell into the hands of the commoners or owners of great pasture, other like particulars are mentioned under the description of that propriety, and of the Neck and Winter Island. Concerning an incident to our cattle, Mr. Green of the village, noted May 2, 1701, that many are lost in a storm of rain and

hail of three days. With regard to the price of cattle, they were formerly much higher than in later years. In 1633, a cow was worth from £20 to £26; 1636, £25 to £30; a pair of oxen, £40, and 1640, a cow, £6. In the appraisal of such stock for taxes to the Commonwealth, we have the following: In 1646, oxen of 4 years old and above, each £6; cows and bulls of 4 years and above, £5; heifers and steers, between 3 and 4 years, £4; between 2 and 3 years, £2 10s, and between 1 and 2 years, £1 10s; 1657, the first in this list was £5, second, £3, third, £2 10s, fourth, £2, fifth, £1; 1686–7, the same price for all the series of 1657; 1694 to 1775, first, £2, and cows of 3 years and above, £1 10s. In the Province and State valuation lists, Salem had the ensuing numbers of cattle: 1768, oxen, 42; cows, 248. 1771, oxen of 4 years and above, 61; cows of 3 years and above, 247. 1781, cattle of 1 year and more, 82; cows of 4 years and more, 325. 1791, oxen of 4 years and above, 53; cows and steers of 3 years and above, 261. In the four next decades of years, these two species of animals are calculated, as of the same age and order, as in the last, except otherwise expressed. 1801, 56; 362. 1811, 68; 373. 1821, 58; 360. 1831, 74; 426 of one year and more. 1841, 44; 346, with the addition of 37 of one year and above.

*Horse.*—The freight of such animals from England to our shores, was so high as to prevent large importations of them hither. In 1629, there were 7 or 8 of them, male and female, belonging to this place. Before the elapse of many years, they were sufficient to answer the purposes of drawing and travelling. Though carriages were known and used in Europe

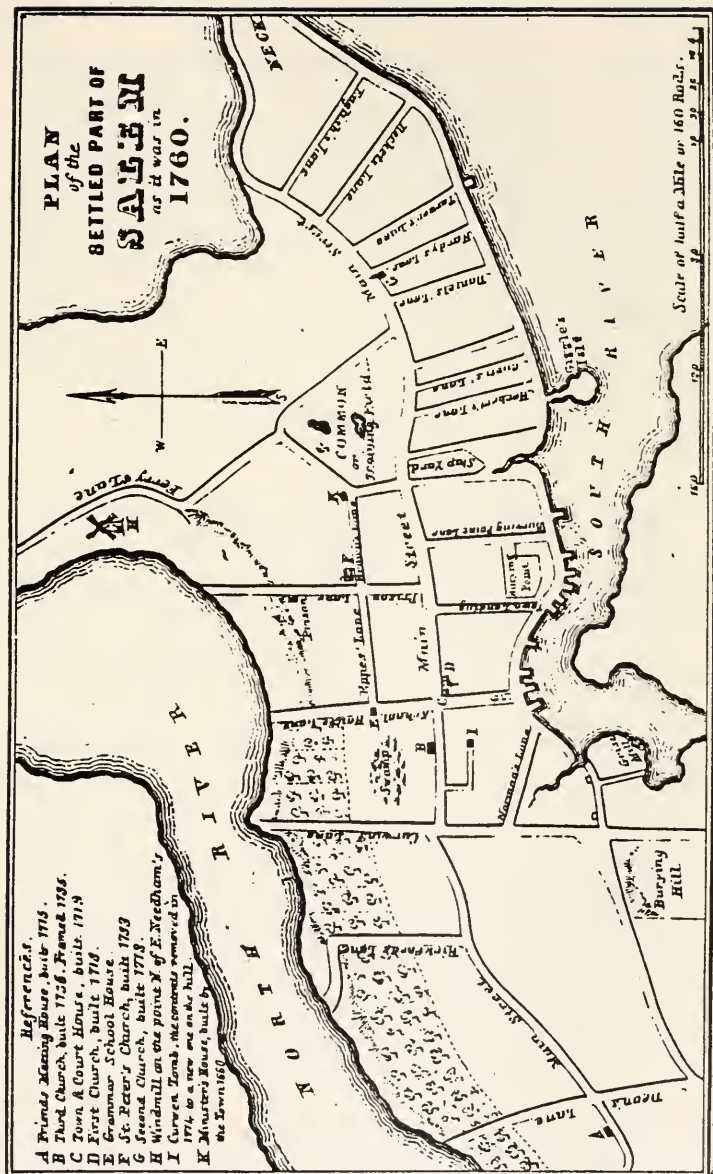
before New England was colonized, yet it was long ere they were commonly employed by our settlers. Hence journeying, when not on foot, was on horse-back. Horses were so much left to range about, that persons, not their owners, would catch and use them without liberty. The Legislature, 1647, passed a law against this practice. As the most of these animals were turned out in the winter as well as summer, to sustain themselves, they were much reduced in value. They were taken for colonial rates, 1647, being of 4 years old and above, at £7 each; 1653, at £16, and afterwards for two thirds less. There was one of more than ordinary interest in Salem, because he was called the "town-horse." Such a station probably subjected him, not only to complicated and oppressive service, but to the discordant criticisms of his many owners. This very likely brought him under the hammer. He was sold, 1655, to John Gedney for £10 1<sup>l</sup>, payable in barley at 4/6, peas, 4/., wheat, 4/6, pork 3<sup>d</sup> lb., and beef, 20/ cwt. As some persons were in the habit of racing these animals, to the hazard of people's lives, and of driving them fast to and from Sabbath worship, the quarterly Court, 1672, forbid such doings. From returns made to the Legislature, the horses of this town numbered, as in the subsequent extract: 1768, 130 horses; 1772, of three years old and above, 163; 1781, of two years and upward, 200; 1791, of three years and more, 175; 1801, 374; 1811, 449; 1821, 368; 1831, of one year and above, 531; 1841, 300. Since carriage by steam-cars began among us, these animals have lessened in number, value and demand.

## MINERALS.

None of these has been so far discovered in our present limits as to be manufactured here. Of the bog ore, there are evident indications in the low wet ground of our great pasture. Formerly several of our adjacent towns had factories for working up this article. John Ruck of Salem and others contracted, 1674, with Nathaniel and Thomas Leonard to carry on this business at Rowley Village. The enterprise proved unprofitable. Governor Winthrop wrote to his son John, 1648, that Mr. Endicott had found a copper mine on his own land, which had been tested by Mr. Leader, overseer of the Iron works at Lynn. Governor Endicott, in a petition to the Legislature, 1651, says: "Your petitioner hath been at some charges already for the finding and melting of copper ore, and is still in prosecution of bringing it to perfection, by sending over from Sweden and Germany, workmen that are skilful in that art; and that the place where it is to be wrought, is not sufficiently stored with wood to go through with such a work, petitions for 300 acres of woodland near where he intends to set up the works, named Blind Hole, near a farm formerly granted to your petitioner." His request was allowed. The place, here designated, was about the northernmost bound between Danvers and Topsfield. The mine did not yield enough to meet the expectations and accomplish the plans of its proprietor. Before 1700, there were much higher anticipations, in both Old and New England, of finding mines of various ores, in territory of the latter, than subsequently. A Company for working "mines



PLAN  
of the  
SETTLED PART OF  
**SALISBURY**  
as it was in  
1760.



*References.*

- A Priests Manning House, built 1715.
- B Third Church, built 1726. Former 1756.
- C Town & Court House, built 1714.
- D First Church, built 1718.
- E Grammar School House.
- F St. Peter's Church, built 1723.
- G Second Church, built 1718.
- H Windmill on the point N of E. Needham's.
- I Church Lane, the tower removed in 1774, to a new one on the hill.
- K Ministers House, built by the Town 1660.



of copper and other minerals " here, were to meet, May 1692, in London, to consult on carrying out their plans. For the passing time, rich minerals are exceedingly desired ; but they have universally proved less beneficial to communities than the well cultivated soil. Before we leave this section, the remark occurs: even within the circumscribed range of our boundaries, we behold enough of its diversified productions to commune in spirit with the proper sentiment,

" Of skill divine what shining marks appear,  
Creating power is all around exprest."

#### WAYS.

Before the commencement of our remaining records, no doubt that various tracks, most needed for the intercourse of our inhabitants one with another and with the adjacent towns, were struck out and used. These passages of our own settlement, like similar ones in other ancient plantations, were made more for accommodation at the time, than for future looks and convenience. Within the main body of our present limits, there were three primitive courses for travel, eastwardly and westwardly. The chief thoroughfare was by the first meeting-house, which, so far as it went, had the general direction of our Essex Street. It was called Main Street prior to 1727. Its western entrance into Salem, was originally from Boston round Gallows Hill, where it passed a house of entertainment to the back of Norman's rocks and eastward of Pickering's Pasture ; continued to the premises near the powder-house, thence down through Wood's gate into Broad Street, which led to Essex Street. With respect to a part of the last pass, as is supposed, it was

ordered in 1635, that the "lott next to the end of Captain Endicotts lott to be an high way." At the corner of this rout "ouer against the meeting-house on the north side," Hugh Peters had land, being a quarter of an acre, which his agent, 1652, sold for 40/. to John Horn. The second and third passages were up and down on the banks of our north and south rivers. A confirmation of them, as well as of like communications on the other sides of the same streams, is in the following order of 1644-5: "Ordered, that all such as haue howses and lotts next the water side in any place of this towne, shall mayntayne a good way both for horse and man of 8 foote broade at least, vpon paine of presentment and such fyne, as the towne or Court shall impose on such as are defective." William Allen deposed 1664, that it had been a resolve of our inhabitants, that when land was granted on these rivers, a reservation should be made for a passage between the top of the banks and the water side. The original road to Marblehead was a continuation of the one which entered Salem through Wood's gate. Its direction was from the neighborhood of the powder-house, up to Flint's, afterwards Metcalf's field, over Clay Brook and to Forest River road. From the preceding ways, in the chief part of the town, individuals had their cross paths, as they wished and the authorities allowed. With regard to the north and south fields, when their lots were laid out and cultivated, they were accommodated with necessary openings for access. It was ordered, 1642, that "an high way be laid out through Daniell Ray his lott and he to haue the old way laid out before over in the ten acre lotts

on the North field." As samples of early practice in repairing our roads, we have the ensuing items. A warrant of 1637-8, for mending highways, requires "every working man vpon the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the moneth" to appear, "vnder the penaltie of 3/." It was ordered, 1647-8, that "who soever shalbe warned to the mending of any bridge or high way and make default, shall allow the surveyors 3/. a day to procure another in his place and take the 3/. by distresse."

In 1645, a way was laid out to Winter Island. Relative to this section, a vote passed, 1667, that the "cutt vppon the neck to goe over to Winter Iland is to be stopped and a sufficient waye to be made over to the Iland." "Mordecay's Cut" was mentioned on our records, 1673. The consistency of these particulars could be better explained formerly, than at present. In 1651, a highway is spoken of as between the lots of Thomas Oliver and Thomas Watson.

The ensuing rule was adopted, 1660, that timber, wood and other lumber be cleared from all the town ways, "that there may be sufficient passage for carts and foote and horse." A report was made, 1663, for a road to the cove by the house of John Ruck, and, 1664, for another from the one near Bartholomew Gedney's to the new mill over South River. Jeffrey Massey deposed, 1664, that there had been and was a way between Mr. Ruck's house and the river, which led over stepping stones across Sweet's cove, to the south fields. There was a cluster of dwellings near the one just named, in 1678, which was called Ruck's Village. It was agreed by Salem and Marblehead, 1666, to have a highway between their

bounds, "as the common cart waye now lyeth," and to enter this place by the mill last mentioned. The same year, it was agreed to have a road come to us from Will's Hill. In 1669, a way was opened from Ebenezer Hathorne's house to the burying place; one, 1673, by the widow Cook's through commons and other ways in North fields: another, 1678, through lots in South fields to Stage point. Potter's Lane is mentioned on our records, 1680. It led to Potter's field, from which its name was derived. It seems to have been made many years before the year last named. After having been let from 5/. to 10/. a year, it was sold to William Brown, 1739, for £20. An opening of 12 feet wide was made, 1686, from that which led from Doctor Emory's or Tawley's house towards John Norman's, and thence over the mouth of the Creek to the south mill, and another from Ingersol's Lane to the house of Francis Morey. A lane from Samuel Beadle's to Rev. Mr. Higginson's and the common, was ordered, 1698, to be surveyed. In this connection, Prison Lane was mentioned. After several attempts for having a new avenue to Beverly Ferry, one was made 1701, from the entrance on Francis Skerry's land through the premises of John Smith, to, near and by the north-west corner of John Massey's house. This was called Ferry Lane, prior to 1754. On petition of James Symonds and his Northfield neighbors, a Causey is allowed, 1705, at their own charge, from Symond's Point, not to be higher than dead low water, for horses and carts. This was about the track of the subsequent North River bridge. A highway by land of Philip English to Point of Rocks, is allowed in 1710. Complaint



was entered to the selectmen of obstructions in the "ancient and usual high way for carts, horses and men, between Joseph Allins, Philip Hills and Michael Bacon and the wharfe, and so along by Mr. Sanders' ware house and Mr. Bartholomew's ware house, now Mrs. Lindall's and to the pitch of y<sup>e</sup> Burying Point." Mr. Bacon had a ship on the stocks too near the warehouses, which he was to launch and then build no more in that spot. Benjamin Ashby had two vessels on the stocks at the pitch of the Burying Point. A committee were instructed to have the passage one rod wide. There was the return of another street, 1711, to the Burying Point.

The manner, in which the following entry, before noted, is made, 1713, on our records, confirms our opinion, that the knowledge of surveying by a compass was anciently much more appreciated than at present :

"We, the subscribers, being appointed by Benjamin Browne, Esq., and John Higginson, Esq., and y<sup>e</sup> selectmen of Salem, to be artists for y<sup>e</sup> stating and settling y<sup>e</sup> West line formerly granted by y<sup>e</sup> Towne of Salem to y<sup>e</sup> village, we having tried by art what is y<sup>e</sup> variation of y<sup>e</sup> compass in this Latitude, do find it to be, at least, ten degrees, and having set a due west course at y<sup>e</sup> bridge by Mr. Phillips, allowing ten degrees variation, have stated a west line," etc.

Signed by William Bowditch and William Gedney.

As the specimen of a perilous practice, we find a charge of 1724, thus expressed : "For blowing up y<sup>e</sup> rock for y<sup>e</sup> bettering y<sup>e</sup> way by Threshers." In 1727, a way was laid out from the Main Street to

Union Wharf, which the next year was denominated Union Street. Town-house Street is mentioned, 1729. Residents in Love Street, leading from Curwin's Lane to Town-house Street, have leave, 1735, pursuant to a vote of 1723, to set up posts before their fences and houses. We meet, 1742, with Robin's Lane, to be leased, and 1749, with School-house Lane. Holmes Lane, near the farm of Benjamin Pickman, Esq., is spoken of, 1754, and also Beckford's Lane, in 1758. A way of two poles wide is allowed, 1762, from Daniel's Lane to Becket's Lane. After various trials for a road from Curwin's Lane to the street leading from Buffum's corner to Town Bridge, and up through the lots between Main Street and North River, one, 1766, was accordingly laid out, accepted and called Federal Street. This name appears to have been selected as a sign of the union of feeling for such a passage, between the parties for and against the discontinuance of the eight feet way on the bank of North River. With regard to this ancient line of communication, it was, as already intimated, the occasion of much protracted division among our inhabitants. In 1755 an attempt was made to have it closed, which seems to have succeeded by the next year. The advocates for its being reöpened, tried their strength again, 1758, but failed. While the matter was thus in suspense, the old men were called to state what they knew of its history. Miles Ward, æt. 87, deposed, 1761, that he had been one of its travellers for more than 70 years. In 1765, the people, living above Curwin's Lane, were greatly dissatisfied, that the River Path was shut up, and they had no convenient avenue to the north ferry.

Under these circumstances, they proposed to have a way in which all might harmonize. This seems to have resulted in the conclusion to make Federal Street, and, in 1767, to a final disuse of the eight-foot track. In the last year, we find that a street from the house of Robert Allen to the Burying-point Lane, was opened. A way was laid out, 1768, from a distil-house to the homestead of Dudley Woodbridge, and we meet, 1769, with Ives and Gerrish's lanes. A road was opened, 1772, from Main Street to the one from the alms-house to the great pasture, through land of John Dean and others. Subsequent to several efforts of public spirited individuals for paving the Main Street from West's to Britton's Corner, they succeeded 1773. They tried for it 1731, and, with their subscriptions and the town's appropriation, they nearly attained it 1754. The selectmen were instructed, 1768, to petition General Court for a lottery to do the work. Not allowed this application for what has long been contrary to public sentiment, but then a popular and oft tried measure, our townsmen very properly relied on their own resources. They soon found, that the chief difficulty in this, as well as in most public improvements, was more the want of a disposition than the means. A committee report, that there were 2,250 yards to be paved, at 1/. a yard, which, with other charges, would make a total of £192 3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>. They state, that it is supposed that the manure saved on the pavements at Charlestown and elsewhere, is equal to the interest on the cost of them; that King's Street here is so narrow, it cannot be kept in repair otherwise than by pavement; that many of the market productions, which go to Marble-

head in a wet season, would come to the centre of Salem, if this street were in good condition. As £80 had been subscribed for this enterprise, the town voted £100 more. The distance paved was 740 feet in length.

Having gone over so many courses, by no means a romantic excursion, we now reach a breathing pause. It is plain, that there must have been some streets, made and used, of which there are left no particular data. That we may have a condensed view of what has been adduced on, and what relates to this subject, we present the substance of a report from a committee for naming the streets, offered, 1773, to our inhabitants. They applied the term, *street*, in all the instances, except where *lane* stands in the subjoined list :

<i>Assembly Court,</i>	from Pike's corner to Assembly Hall. <sup>1</sup>
<i>Beckett's Lane,</i>	" Lambert's corner in Bow St. to South River.
<i>Bow,</i>	" east end of King St. to Neck Gate.
<i>Broad,</i>	" West's corner to Alms-house. <sup>2</sup>
<i>Brown's Lane,</i>	" Geo. Peal's corner to Water St.
<i>Burying-point Lane,</i>	" Lynde's corner to Water St.
<i>Bush Lane,</i>	" Capt. John Hodges in Bow St. to Derby St.
<i>Church,</i>	" Saint Peter's Church to the Elms.
<i>Dean's Lane,</i>	" Dean's corner to North River.
<i>Derby,</i>	" east end of Winter St. to Rope-walks.
<i>English's Lane,</i>	" Touzel's corner to South River.
<i>Epex Lane,</i>	" Centre School St. to Saint Peter's church.
<i>Essex,</i>	" Town-house <sup>3</sup> to Norman St.
<i>Fish,</i>	" Mill St. to Norman St.
<i>Flint's Lane,</i>	" Metcalf's corner to South St.
<i>Front,</i>	" Fish Street to Woodbridge corner.

<sup>1</sup> On the premises of South meeting-house.

<sup>2</sup> Then located on a corner of the present Essex Street.

<sup>3</sup> Where the building, lately occupied for the Registry office, stands.

<i>Hanover,</i>	from King's Arms <sup>1</sup> to South River.
<i>Hardy Lane,</i>	" Phippen's corner in Bow St. to Derby St.
<i>Haskett's Lane,</i>	" John White, Jr.'s, in Bow St. to Derby St.
<i>King,</i>	" Town-house to Capt. Jonathan Gardner's.
<i>Lynde,</i>	" North Church to School St.
<i>Middle,</i>	" Buffum's corner to West's corner.
<i>Mill,</i>	" Alms-house to the Mills.
<i>Norman,</i>	" Broad Street to Essex St.
<i>North,<sup>2</sup></i>	" Friend Hacker's to Sprague's distillery.
<i>North Bridge,</i>	" Clark's corner to North Bridge.
<i>Pope's Lane,</i>	" East Church to South River.
<i>Prison,</i>	" Osgood's corner to North River.
<i>Queen,</i>	" West's corner to Britton's corner.
<i>School,</i>	" Town-house to North River.
<i>South,</i>	" South gate to Alms-house.
<i>Spring,</i>	" Daniel's corner in Bow St. to South River.
<i>Town Bridge,</i>	" Danvers to Buffum's corner.
<i>Turner's Lane,</i>	" Murray's corner in Bow St. to South River
<i>Union,</i>	" Mr. Watson's corner to Long Wharf. <sup>3</sup>
<i>Ward's Lane,</i>	" Lowder's corner to Water St.
<i>Water,</i>	" Bottom of Hanover round the wharves to Long Wharf.
<i>Winter,</i>	" Cole's corner to North River.

However needful for imparting a correct knowledge of our municipal topography, the foregoing report was, still its acceptance was deferred. Whether there was a desire to suspend the formal confirmation of Royal names, in the preceding list, until there should be more certainty, as to our connection with Great Britain, and thus a decision was made to put off the whole matter, is not known. 'The Court of Sessions order, 1774, that a road be opened, "near the way by South River between the bottom of Hanover Street and by a high way leading from the court-house to Marblehead." A street was accepted, 1775, from one by Miles Ward's, to another which went from

<sup>1</sup> A public house.

<sup>2</sup> Had been called Federal-st.

<sup>3</sup> Union Wharf.

the town-house to Cabot's Wharf. The same year a way was laid out, called Front Street. A passage was opened, 1785, from School to North Street, though not accepted till several years afterwards, and Quaker Lane, from Henry Rust's house to the jail, was mentioned. In 1786; a road by George Ervin's to the mill granary, was allowed. Another, opened this year, from D. Woodbridge's to Long Wharf, was accepted 1789. In 1787, a passage between Mr. Prince's meeting-house and Rust's store is mentioned. It was ordered, 1789, that there be a road on the east side of Essex bridge, for landing and taking away goods,<sup>1</sup> and that the new one, laid out by an injunction of the Court of Sessions, to Essex bridge, be put in good repair. . Against the latter's being surveyed by county commissioners, the year before, our selectmen protested in the name of the town; because the common way had served for more than 80 years, and Salem had lately put down costly ferry ways, which the bridge would render useless. A street through Kitchen's field is allowed, 1790. There was an appropriation by the town, 1792, for £300, including pave-stones behind the court-house, to pave Main Street from the corner of Henry Rust to that of Mr. Andrews, and as much<sup>2</sup> further eastwardly, as this sum, with subscriptions, would sustain. The work was done the same year. A committee were appointed, 1794, to name the streets and have boards with each name, put up in some conspicuous place. The same year a way was accepted from South meeting-house to the hay-market, and another from such new way eastwardly to the south-east corner of Benjamin Daland's land. An



opening by the store of William Marston, to land of Joseph Henfield, was accepted. This is now included in the road by the railway. A way from North Bridge road to Quaker Pasture and to Danvers through land of Thomas Mason and others, was presented, 1794, for acceptance, but it was not then received. In 1795, a street through land of Retiah Becket and others was reported, and in 1796, one, afterwards called Chesnut Street, from Cambridge Street to Flint Street, was accepted. Three more, were accepted, 1797, first from north part of Pleasant Street to Bridge Street; second, through land of Henry Williams to North River, and third, Webb Street, near south-east corner of Clifford Crowninshield's land. Two were allowed, one, 1798, in North field by Capt. Dennis's to Danvers line; another, 1799, from High Street to Gedney Court. In 1799, Neptune and Liberty Streets were paved. The same year Ingersoll Street was accepted. Land, for widening Chesnut Street, 1801, was valued at \$12 a pole. Various ways are recorded 1801, viz., from Chesnut Street to Broad Street; from Chesnut to Essex Street; from Federal to Essex Street; from Neptune to Water Street; and, 1802, from North Bridge to the iron factory. The last was laid out by county commissioners. The town thought that the old road would do with suitable alterations. The following streets are first mentioned, Bath, 1802, south of the mall; and, 1803, from English to Daniels' Streets; from Essex to Chesnut between Flint and Cambridge Streets; from Mill through Creek Court to Summer, and Green from Flint to Picker-

ing Court. Some of our inhabitants, who were far from feeling that benefactions for public good were like treasure cast into the sea, set up street lamps, 1803, and offered them to the town. Their present was accepted on condition, that the cost of lighting and keeping the lamps should not exceed \$1,500 a year. Such aids to prevent midnight crime, have had their periods of not being used, because supposed to be of less utility than the burden of maintaining them. In 1835, they were ordered to be relighted, and to the 50 then up, 5 more were added. It was estimated that each lamp with its fixtures cost \$5 75, and for being lighted, \$14 a year. An appropriation, 1838, for lighting the lamps, was \$500. The ensuing roads were accepted—from Marblehead road to South River, at the charges of Ezekiel H. Derby, 1805, called Lafayette, 1825, in honor of General Lafayette, who came over it the preceding year on his visit to Salem; Warren and Pine, from the west end of Essex to Warren Street, 1806; and one from Mill Street to Palmer's Hill, 1807. Land, taken to widen Broad Street, 1808, estimated at \$25 a pole. A street from Essex to Lynde Street, was allowed, 1810. 1820, the following streets were named—from Essex to Federal, Munroe; from Chesnut to Broad, Pickering; from Essex to Chesnut through Wallis' land, Hamilton; from main road in North fields to Fry's Mills, Mason; from Bridge Street to North River, Saunders; from Brown to North River, by new burying ground, Branch; and Market Street changed to Central Street. 1820, Peabody, Northey and Andover Streets reported. 1822, Harbor; 1824, Pickman; 1825, South and Crombie Streets, accepted.

The town voted, 1825, to furnish edge stones for inhabitants, who will have a brick walk in front of their land. 1827, a way in South Salem from Mill Hill, running southwardly, reported, and confirmed, 1829. Mall Street accepted, 1829. County commissioners allow the road by North River, if made by 1831. This was done, and, 1832, was called Forrester Street. 1832, Lynn Street accepted. 1833, Oliver Street reported, and Front Street ordered to be paved. 1834, March Street reported; 1836, Ash; 1837, Briggs; 1840, Porter, Cherry and Cedar; 1841, Dearborn and Hathorne; and, 1842, Everett Streets, were accepted. Thus we reach the end of miscellaneous particulars about our city streets. Such a termination is far from being unwelcome.

For a full list of our present ways, being 134, the valuable Directory of Salem may be consulted. The preceding account may catch the glance of some, and from their habit of viewing such objects, may start the question, Why not omit and leave its items to the vicissitudes of time? But the future inquirer will have valid claims, in this respect, that there should be a garnering up and not a scattering to the winds. Various views and inclinations must be met in diversified forms. Taste can read, with patience and pleasure, a description of ways in ancient cities, on which the lines of desolation have been long and deeply drawn. Shall it cherish neither thought nor wish for the registry of those passages in its own community, which furnish the means of easy intercourse to its living population, as they pass on different purposes of exercise and diversion, business and worship?

## INCORPORATED ROADS.

*Turnpike.*—When turnpike speculation prevailed, much for public convenience, but generally to private loss, many of Salem and vicinity partook of its influence. With their usual forecast, however, they devised and acted judiciously. And still would their investment have yielded good dividends, had not steam travel, then scarcely suspected as likely so soon almost to supersede toll roads, become extensively successful. A petition was presented, January 26, 1801, by Dr. E. A. Holyoke, and 52 others, for leave of Salem to have a turnpike made through their limits. The town approved this undertaking, June 1, and desired their representatives in the Legislature, to assist in having it allowed. Before this was accomplished, individuals of Newburyport and elsewhere, moved for a turnpike from that place. Our inhabitants, February 3, 1803, instructed their representatives to oppose this project as unnecessary and injurious to their own. On the 26th of the same month, General Court granted an act of incorporation for a turnpike from Salem to Charles River Bridge, being a distance of 12 miles and 256 poles. When the work on this avenue began, and while continued, being a novel sight in the vicinity, it was visited by multitudes of different ages and residences. It was opened for travel, the 22d of September in the year of its becoming chartered. Its stock consisted of 1,200 shares, each of which cost about \$200. For six years previous to the opening of the railroad, the dividend was from \$9 50 to \$12 25 a year per share. For four years since, it has been from \$4 to \$4 50.

A single share now sells for about \$40 to \$45. This is one of the depreciations in concerns, once extensively popular and useful, which have continued to occur through the alterations of public improvement. While regretted in behalf of those who suffer, it is not divested of all alleviation, in the thought, that what has brought disaster on some, will confer advantage on many more.

*Railroad.*—The inhabitants of Salem desire, February 15, 1836, that their selectmen, representatives, and the Essex senators, would advocate a petition to General Court for the Eastern Railroad. The company, for this enterprise, were incorporated the 14th of April, to carry their way as far as the New Hampshire line. They also proposed to have it reach, under other authority, to Portsmouth. They received an additional act, April 12, 1837, to alter the course of their survey so that the road might run, as it now does. At this juncture, the Commonwealth extended the hand of seasonable aid. This was enlightened and noble policy. The public treasury will be no poorer for it, and the people at large will be increasingly and greatly benefited. On the 13th of the last mentioned month, the State Treasurer was authorized to loan the Eastern Railroad proprietors \$500,000 in State scrip, at 5 per cent., payable in sums of \$100,000, as their work advanced. The track from Boston to Salem was opened August 27, 1838, when stockholders and invited guests tried the speed of its cars. It was a day of unusual interest to thousands who wished well to the enterprise. The proprietors resolved, September 22, to proceed with the road further eastward. On

the part, from this place to the metropolis, there was an income of \$37,422 36, and expenses of \$17,818 19, for 108 running days, to February 1, 1839, Sundays being excepted. It would have been well for the repute and the profit of the whole concern, had so commendable an exception never been violated. Thus grasping after riches over the down-cast pillars of community's highest good, always tends more to loss than gain. This is an established law of Omnipotence. Neither human sophistry can destroy its nature, nor human wishes and efforts prevent its efficacy. At the date, last mentioned, the merchandize cars began to run. Such a two fold mode of transporting passengers and goods, was at first daily gazed on by throngs, as one of the greatest triumphs of mechanical genius, ever witnessed in this quarter. Nor, even after the lapse of years, has curiosity, though much satisfied, closed its eyes on the sight. Every principal train still attracts its company of spectators. In 1839, a work of uncommon skill, labor and cost, was finished in furtherance of the company's plan. It was the tunnel of 650 feet long under Washington Street, accompanied with walled excavations at both ends, which, together, extended about the same distance. This was done in a style, ornamental to the city, and honorable to the corporation. Besides, a pile bridge of 1,800 feet was made across North River to Beverly. On December 10, a branch railroad was opened from Salem to Marblehead. This passed Forest River, by a pile bridge of 350 feet long. On the 18th of the same month, the cars commenced their course to Ipswich depot. They ran to Newburyport, June 19, 1840, south of High Street ; to the other depot there,



August 28; to New Hampshire line, November 9; and then continued on the railroad of that State to Portsmouth. Thus a rout of 53 miles was terminated and an enterprise, chiefly promoted, at the beginning, in this city, was successfully accomplished. This is an achievement which demonstrates the oft proved fact, that, while individual strength can do comparatively little, the combined energies of the many may perform wonders. The cost of the whole way from Boston to Portsmouth, has been computed at \$2,289,286. The income before July, 1840, was taken to meet assessments. Since, the whole number of shares, being 20,000, and each at \$100, have paid 6 per cent. a year in semi-annual payments. In 1842, 431,260 passengers were carried on the main road, who paid \$232,342 83, and 37,443 on Marblehead branch, estimated at \$4,680 39. There was also an income, from the carrying of merchandize, \$16,082 98, and from that of the mail, \$11,040 43. Thus, in a short period, from small and doubtful beginnings, have arisen large revenues, a hopeful system of reasonable income, and a source of wide-spread convenience and benefit.

#### FERRIES.

Being easy to commence and of little cost, ferries are among the first means of intercourse between inhabitants, separated by rivers and harbors. Our town records furnish us with several extracts concerning them. 1636, December 26, "It is agreed, that John Stone shall keepe a ferry, to begin this day, betwixt his house on the neck vpon the north point and Cape Ann side, and shall giue dilligent attendance thervpon

during the space of three yeares, vnless he shall giue iust occation to the contrary, and in consideracon thereof, he is to haue two pence for a stranger and one penny from an inhabitant. Moreouer, the said John Stone doth promise to provide a convenient boat for the said purpose, betwixt this and the first month next coming after the date hearof." This is the first notice which we have of Beverly ferry. 1636-7, January 12, Richard Inkersoll is to haue 1<sup>d</sup> for every person he may carry over the North Ferry, during the town's pleasure. 1637, September 25, George Wright is granted half an acre of land on the neck for a house; five acres at "the Forrest side to plant on and to keepe a ferry between Butt point and Darby fort." This is the first mention of Marblehead Ferry. The point designated, appears to have been at the bottom of Turner's Lane. The fort was on Naugus' Head. In 1639, William Dixy succeeds John Stone, and takes a lease of Beverly Ferry for the same period he did. He "is to keep an horse boate; to haue for strangers' passadge 2<sup>d</sup> a peice; for towne dwellers 1<sup>d</sup> a peice; for mares, horses, and other great beasts, 6<sup>d</sup> a peice; and for goats, calves and swyne, 2<sup>d</sup> a peice." When Marblehead was incorporated, 1649, Salem reserved to themselves the right of the ferry and the appointment of the ferry-men. For the relief of Richard Stackhouse's family, he was allowed, 1653, the profit of the ferry "towards Ipswich," if he should find boat and men. This was the Beverly Ferry, which was variously designated. The individual last named, continued in the same station till the fore part of 1686. He was succeeded this year by John Massey, the oldest town

born child then residing in Salem. The Beverly Ferry, like that of Marblehead, was retained by our municipal authorities, with all its privileges. They let the former for a yearly rent of £2, 1678; £3, 1679; £5, 1682; £6, 1694; £7, 1705; £10, 1708; £3,\* 1749, and £10, 1769. They leased the latter at the annual price of 5<sup>s</sup>, 1678; 18<sup>s</sup>, 1699; £3, 1704; £5, 1714 to 1734. The income from both of these sources was applied towards the support of the grammar school master. In 1690, Massey conducted the Beverly Ferry on the south side, and Roger Haskins on the north side, where he resided. The latter was followed, 1694, by Edmund Gale, one of his townsmen, for seven years, when his own widow assumed the charge. They agree to have two good boats afloat constantly, one on each side. In the year of 1701, while Mrs. Ruth Haskins entered on her duties, John, the son of Mr. Massey, did the like for the Salem department. Her son Roger, united with the last person, 1708, and they took a lease of the whole ferry for 20 years. In 1742, the rates for passengers, in old tenor, between this place and Beverly, were 3<sup>d</sup> for a person; 9<sup>d</sup> for a horse; and 3<sup>s</sup> for a chair or chaise. The next year, Beverly remonstrated against the rules concerning fares. Salem justified themselves and claimed the right to lessen the ferriage for strangers, as they had done, or even to charge them nothing, and at the same time to take 1<sup>d</sup> of Salem and Beverly passengers, according to an agreement of 1639. By vote of our inhabitants, the selectmen raise the fares of North Ferry, 1748, computed in old

\* Sterling in this one instance.

tenor, to 8<sup>d</sup> a person ; 10<sup>d</sup> a horse ; 3<sup>s</sup> a chaise or two wheel carriage ; and 6<sup>s</sup> a four wheel "chaise or chair." The same year, a complaint was made to the Legislature by gentlemen of the county, that this mode of conveyance was not fitly conducted ; that the lessees of it said their rent was so high, they could not keep suitable boats and assistants ; that carriages and goods had, by carelessness, fallen into the water ; and that the ferrymen helped to lighten vessels in the river and thus occasioned vexatious delay to travellers. In 1749, Robert Hale, of Beverly, hired the ferry, at £3 sterling annually, as aforesaid, for seven years. A reason why he had it at a lower price than usual for the period, was, that he agreed to repair the ways and landing there, and leave them in good order. The fares in 1756, were 1<sup>d</sup> a person ; "two English half-pence for a horse ; 4 English half-pence for a man and horse ; 5<sup>d</sup> for a chair ; 7<sup>d</sup> for a two wheeled chaise ; 9<sup>d</sup> for a four wheel chaise." Benjamin Waters, of Salem, and Ebenezer Ellinwood, of Beverly, 1769, hired the ferry for three years, at a yearly rent of £10. This way of passing to and from our community, continued, as is well known, to the opening of Essex Bridge. 'Then, after having fulfilled a long and useful service, it gave place to a safer and more convenient substitute.

Relative to the South Ferry, it was hired, 1699, by Philip English for three years. After him, Capt. John Calley, of Marblehead, had it for ten years. His successor and townsman was John Dixey, who took a lease of it, 1714, for the same period as the last. For Salem people he was to have 2<sup>d</sup> each, and for others what the Court of Sessions should appoint. His boat

was to be sufficient for horses and carriages. Timothy Day, of Gloucester, contracted, 1725, to find materials, except iron, and make a causey for the passengers, "on y<sup>e</sup> flats by Coll. Turners," for £40. John Dixey, who was still ferryman, said, 1726, that unless more was done for the causey, he could not sustain himself. The selectmen inform him, that when a greater outlay is made for such a purpose, they must advance his rent, and he must increase the ferriage. As the causey by Col. Turner's was out of order and allowed passengers to land with not less than half tide, it proposed, 1730, to move the ferry to English's flats south of the neck. This plan seems not to have been executed. The small-pox prevailing in Marblehead the latter part of 1730, the ferry thither was stopped for a few months. In 1734, it was leased, for seven years, to Joseph Willard, who requested, before the period was out, to be discharged from his obligation. The lower road to Marblehead must have taken away many of his passengers. It seems to have interrupted the ferry so that leases were not made as previously. Another subsequent reason for similar interruption, was that, in 1774, there was a coach ready to convey passengers from our School Street to Marblehead. We are informed by those, living at the time, that the ferry was much used during the Revolutionary war and the first year of the ensuing peace, but ceased to be so employed altogether about 1785. Thus in one direction, as well as in another, the former scenes which presented travellers, with hasty steps, approaching the boatmen's range, "and press for passage with extended hands," have vanished from the view of curious and amused spectators.

## BRIDGES.

These were made soon after our settlement began. In that period of doubtful, though determined experiment, the most consulted in reference to them was use and economy. Our records do not immediately speak of them, though when they do, it is of several as already decayed. In 1644, one of our most skilful mechanics agrees to keep "the bridge" in repair for 16 years, at 20/. per annum, the town to find materials. This appears to have been what was long denominated town bridge, which was often cited as a noted boundary. Its erection has been thought not to have been earlier than 1647; but this is likely to be a mistake. An order passed, 1645-6, that the bridge at "Townesend" be pulled down, "or so much of it as shalbe needfull when the causeway is begun to be made, and shall serue to pile and plank, as farr as it will goe, the causeway next to the sea." Overseers of this work were designated. They had power to select individuals for doing it, each of whom, if refusing, was to pay 3/. for a day. The same fine was imposed on any person, who would not let his "beast" be employed in this labor. The bridge, so named, seems to have been one, which united the Neck and Winter Island. A new bridge is mentioned, 1648, but not its location. It has been supposed to have passed over Forest River. As there were three, out of our present bounds, ordered the previous year, to be finished, one of these may have been the same. Besides, "the old bridge," at the head of that river, was standing the year after. Mr. William Brown was permitted, 1656, to have a



lock bridge erected at or near the head of Forest river, where Mr. Humphrey's bridge stood, and to support the same for foot passengers. The Quarterly Court ordered, 1661, "that the bridge, or causeway at the Western end of Salem, be sufficiently repaired and a stone walk to be built against the side thereof upon the County's charge." The Mill bridge, over South river, was finished about 1664. Leave was granted, 1712, to John Trask and Joseph Boyce, Jr., to move their mill, on the upper part of North river, down to Spooner's point, if, within three years, they made and supported a way across the same stream. This, of course, included a bridge for men and teams. Permission was given to Lt. Daniel Bacon and others, 1726, to build a bridge, at their own charge, near "the stepping stones where it hath been usual to go over the Creek in South river." It was to be "a swing or draw bridge," to have 30 feet passage under it, so that vessels and rafts might be conducted to and from several places above. As the land, in process of years, intruded on the waters of the Creek, the bridge became less used for vessels. In 1821, its wooden materials were exchanged for stones, leaving merely a drain where once the proceeds of fishery and commerce had a free course. Liberty was allowed, 1735, for John Gardner and Jeremiah Gatchell, to construct a mill bridge, fit for carts, over Forest river, on the lower road to Marblehead. Being found too narrow, it was widened 1798.

In the history of our bridges, we are called to notice one, which was considered a great undertaking at the period of its commencement. James Lindall,

and other proprietors of the North Fields, petitioned the town, May 17, 1742, for leave to build a bridge, at their own charge, over North river, from Orne's point to Symonds's point. Their request was granted the 14th of June. A proposal was made for the same object, 1696, but it was deferred by vote of the inhabitants. The bridge, so permitted, was to be, at least, 18 feet wide, and its draw 18 feet long. It was required to be kept in good order by the proprietors, or else forfeited to the Town. Our inhabitants were to have free passage over and under it, and their vessels to lay at the bridge and land goods without any expense. It was finished prior to March 12, 1744, though two years were granted for its completion. It was afterwards styled, "the great bridge." The entire length of the causeway and bridge was 860 feet. Thus made, on conditions which were to meet conflicting interests in the same community, the concern could not promise long continued harmony. Soon objections arose and were repeated at different periods, that the bridge came short of what it should be. At length, the proprietors thought the public demands too extravagant and ceased the necessary outlays. The Town declared the bridge forfeited, and, in 1755, conveyed it to others, except the draw and two adjoining piers. The new company took the rest with the flats, on the specifications, that they would keep it in order for travelling, or, if they did not, to surrender the whole back to the Town with the wharves, warehouses and other buildings, erected on the premises. But this new plan did not proceed without its perplexities. On the subject of repairs,

the owners did not look with the same eyes as others. Several withdrew from the partnership and their shares were sold, 1768, by order of the Town. Still difficulty did not cease. At last, the Town agreed, 1789, to widen and repair the south part of the bridge, if the remaining proprietors would do likewise, as to the north part, on the condition, that, after doing this, the latter be entirely excused from any other such demands. This contract was fulfilled, and so the bridge became the public property of Salem. Thus closed an experiment, with a result, always likely to accrue from every similar concern. It demands too much of individuals and too little of community.

With the progress and necessities of population, enterprise, for the performance of greater projects, made an advance. A question was agitated in Salem, 1787, whether it was best for a bridge to be erected over North ferry. The principal mover of it was George Cabot, an eminent merchant of Beverly. It was debated in our public meetings. A small majority opposed its adoption. It enlisted divers interests and prejudices. It gave rise to strong party feeling and much excitement. Mr. Blyth, a limner, who was noted for his ingenious play on words, said, on the occasion, that he never knew a bridge built without *rgiling* on both sides. When a petition for it was presented to General Court, a vote passed here, that a committee and the representatives from Salem oppose its allowance, and that adjacent towns be invited to unite in such resistance. In case the petitioners gained their object for a new bridge either from Orne's point or the Ferry ways, the holders of estate, on the

North Fields route, determined to apply for being incorporated, so that they might have a toll bridge from the same point to Ellenwood's head. Among the reasons assigned, why Mr. Cabot and others should not have their petition granted, was, that the navigation of North river would be destroyed, where there were 40 vessels of different tonnage. But the opposition, though various and energetic, did not prevail. An act passed, Nov. 17th, authorizing the plan to be executed. The bridge began to be travelled over Sept. 24, 1788, an event, which many assembled to witness. The chief architect of the work was Lemuel Cox,<sup>1</sup> afterwards similarly employed in England and Ireland with distinguished success. It rested on 93 piers, was 32 feet wide, 1,484 feet long, all of wood. Considered by its friends as particularly beneficial to most of the County, it was called Essex bridge. Its cost was about \$16,000, to be remunerated by tolls, for 70 years from its being first opened for passengers. This sum was divided into 200 shares, which, prior to 1830, were worth five times their original value. Such stock, however still yielding dividends, is continually on the decline. This depreciation, though caused considerably by the rail road just above the bridge, is mainly owing to the obvious rea-

<sup>1</sup> One of his name, a wheelwright, of Boston, and supposed to be the same individual, was in Ipswich prison, Dec. 29, 1775, for his attachment to the British government. In 1796, he had a grant of 1,000 acres of land in Maine from our legislature, for being the first inventor of a machine to cut Card wire, the first projector of a Powder Mill in Massachusetts, the first suggestor of employing prisoners on Castle Island to make nails, and for various other discoveries in mechanical arts.

son, that the property will, ere long, revert to the Commonwealth. The owners have paid Salem an annuity of £40 and another of £10 to Danvers, for injury to their navigation of North river. So interested in the appearance of this bridge was General Washington, on his tour of 1789, that, when he had passed it, he dismounted and returned to the draw, which was hoisted for the purpose, so that he might examine its structure. Notwithstanding the violence of party motives, counsels and exertions, which rallied against the execution of this work, experience has long ago shown, that it was one of those enterprises, which should commend themselves to general approbation. When its opponents saw, that their resistance to its erection was ineffectual, they had another built over Frost fish river, which has been commonly denominated "Spite bridge." Though this spirit of retaliation fell far short of its design, yet it has resulted in the long accommodation of the public.

As promotive of convenience to many of our population and for easier communication with Lynn and Marblehead, a bridge was built over South river, 1805, in a line with Central and Lafayette streets. The plea for this improvement, was like that for its predecessor, allowed to be made above, on a branch of the same stream, seventy-nine years before. As usual with such works, the South bridge, so named, has greatly diminished the maritime business of the waters, which it encloses. It was done at the expense of Ezekiel H. Derby and others. It was accepted by the Town, 1810, and rebuilt, 1821, at their charge. However the several free bridges, over our North and

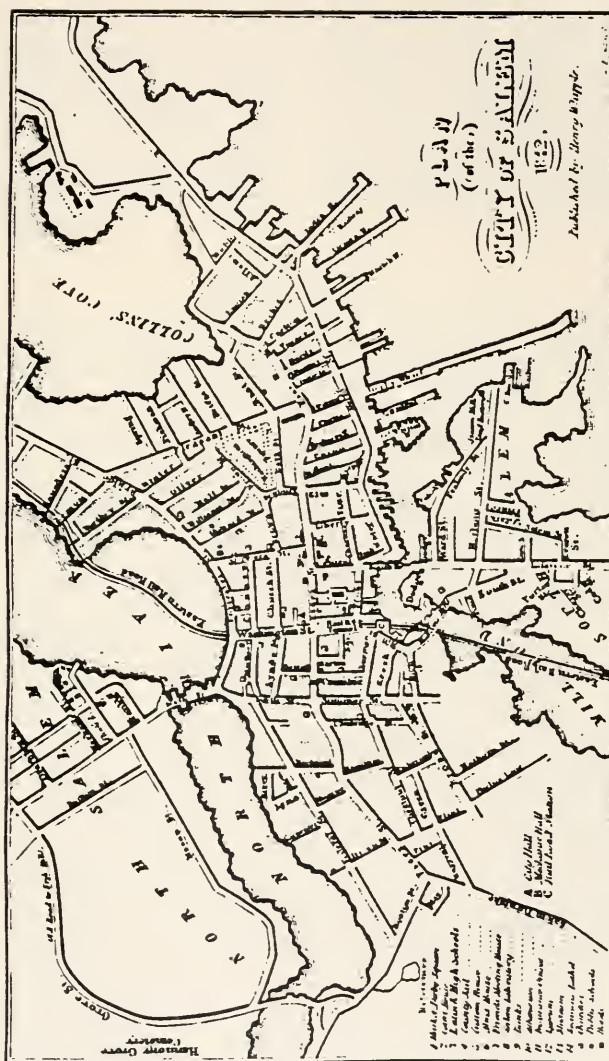


South rivers, were erected by individuals for their own accommodation, still, while thus acting for themselves, they conferred benefit on our community. As we pass the avenues, opened by the hand of their enterprise, and consider the facilities of intercourse, which they have promoted, such deeds should come to our grateful recollection.

Before closing this section, we notice a Foot bridge of about 6 feet wide, over North river, from Dean street to Quaker pasture, so called. It was chartered, March 23, 1843, for Jonathan T. Carlton, an enterprising carpenter, as its sole proprietor. He made it to accommodate a village of fifteen houses, built by himself, within a few years, on land of the aforesaid pasture.

Looking back on the various bridges of our corporation, some of which have disappeared by the intrusion of land upon their waters, we perceive, that they all have been of the simpler architecture. Still the two principal ones, over our North river, were considered as works of much magnitude, when undertaken. In 1696, when the legislature decided, that the bridge, which crossed Charles river, near the College, should be repaired at the charge of the Province, they styled it "The Great Bridge." But 140 years ago, the project of erecting such a structure over the Ferry of Charles river, was publicly ridiculed, as the offspring of distempered fancy and ruinous extravagance. The progress of the arts, however, have proved, that this opposition rose from mistaken views and inexperienced efforts, and that mechanical genius is capable of far greater achievements. Hence, a change has been







wrought in the public mind so that what it once regarded among our river passages, as specimens of superiority, it now ranks as of the common order. Thus it is, that improved inventions throw their predecessors into the shade, and administer to the gratifications of our intellectual nature, whose bent is ever onward.

## TRAVELLING.

Neither the wish, nor the means of our primitive settlers, as a body, allowed them to indulge in costly modes of journeying. At the commencement of their pilgrimage here, they had few horses and none of them to spare from domestic work. Hence, they were under the necessity of visiting adjacent plantations either on foot or in boats. Some instances of this plain custom, in the practice of our principal characters, are handed down to us. In a letter of 1631, Mr. Endicott wrote to Mr. Winthrop as follows. "I did expect to have been with you in person at the Court, and, to that end, I put to sea yesterday and was driven back again, the wind being stiff against us. And there being no canoe or boat at Saugus, I must have been constrained to go to Mystic and thence about to Charlestown, which, at that time, durst not be so bold, my body being at present in an ill condition to wade or take cold, and, therefore, I desire you to pardon me." The excuse, so given, in view of the difficulties then attendant on the route from Salem to Boston, was amply sufficient. This being in April, the Governor, with several officers, on the succeeding Oct. 25th, came "on foot to Saugus and the

next day to Salem, where they were bountifully entertained by Capt. Endicott, etc. and, the 28th, they returned to Boston by the ford at Saugus river and so over at Mistick." However strange it may strike us, at first thought, that so much time was taken to go from our settlement to the metropolis; yet a second thought teaches us, that all the hours mentioned, must have been spent in diligent progress, because their course was through streams unbridged, and through forests infested with voracious beasts, and explored only by rough and devious paths. A tradition has been long accredited, that, soon after Boston was settled, a few persons from Salem visited it; that they were four days in going and coming; that their perils and hardships, on the journey, were deemed so great, they put up a note of thanks, in our first church, the next Sabbath after their safe return.

In 1637, Governor Winthrop passed through Salem to and from Ipswich. The next year he visited our people by water and returned by land. In both of these excursions, he was escorted by some of our townsmen, out of respect for him, as well as for the protection of his person. It appears, that he and his attendants were all on foot. The rates of our ferriage mention only persons till 1639, when they begin to include the transportation of horses. From this period, the mode of travelling on horseback, gradually increased. The animal so used, often carried two persons. Most usually, they were of both sexes. A saddle served for the gentleman and a pillion for the lady. The latter, when riding alone, had a side saddle. As a sample of the fashion, we have a passage

from Dunton's journal of 1686. It refers to his departure from this Town, after a hospitable reception by his friends here. It says, that, his landlord's daughter of Boston, having taken a seat behind him to visit her relatives at Ipswich, "I rid to the river that parts Boston from Ipswich, which though it be often and usually crossed in a canoe, yet I rather chose to cross it in a forry, having my horse with me." Such a custom continued for a long period, in our inland towns. The writer recollects a good old deacon, who, till 25 years ago, took his "Sabbath day's journey" to the house of worship, in this manner, with the no less worthy companion of his youth and age. Some of our country villages still show the large, flat and elevated stones, close by their sanctuaries, where the couples alighted and again took their seats on the horse. Such a use of the pillion by ladies, can be traced far back. Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, was thus carried to the House of Peers.

As a specimen of the comparative slowness in travelling here and elsewhere, a considerable period after our first settlement was made, we have the extract from a letter of Jonathan Dickenson to William Smith, dated Philadelphia, Feb. 1697. It runs thus, "I' any occasion presents, write me by way of New England. We have the Post go there. In 14 days, we have an answer from Boston; once a week from New York; once in three weeks from Maryland, and once in a month from Virginia." From 20 to 25 miles a day, was accounted good travelling. A principal cause of such slowness was the want of bridges and good roads. The people from this quarter, made repeated com-

plaints, that they were delayed in their access to Boston. The ferrymen were empowered not to cross when they thought there was danger from wind or ice. Some of our principal men were engaged in a petition to the Legislature, 1710, on this subject. They desired, that a bridge "be built over to Noddle's Island to the main, at northeast side," or that "there be three boats kept plying betwixt Winisimet and Boston, that the Queen's subjects may not be so long detained to their great detriment and hindrance, as now too often they are." With regard to their more distant travelling, a statement was laid before the General Court, 1700, which said, that the road to Connecticut, especially between Worcester and Brookfield, was "much incumbered with trees fallen and many rocky swamps and other impassable obstructions to travellers, drovers and others, and hazarding life or limb of both men and horses and other creatures, to great losses and damages."

Relative to what was considered, in Essex County, a great degree of travel, a representation was made, in 1663, when a question was agitated in Newbury about a new way there, so as to improve the great Eastern road. The document remarked, "in winter time, betwixt a dozen and twenty horsemen besides foot, come over the bridge in a day, and twenty or thirty cattell in a day, in one company."

One of the earliest notices, which we have of a carriage, belonging to Salem, was in 1701. This was called a calash and was owned by Henry Sharp, an innholder. He let it for carrying a Mr. Bulkley home, who had just arrived here sick, but who was



unable to proceed any further than Lynn. The driver came back with the calash on the Sabbath. This was deemed a violation of holy time. Mr. Sharp was called to answer the charge, but was cleared on the plea of necessity. However carriages of various sorts, were used in England before the settlement of our country, but few, even of the simpler forms, appear to have been owned either in Salem or other towns, except Boston and probably Dorchester, at the time of the above case. When Lady Andros arrived at the metropolis, in 1687, she and her husband, the Governor, rode in a coach. It seems to have been the policy of our legislators to discourage the use of carriages, as well as foreign fashions of costly dress, lest they should bring luxurious habits on the people and so prevent the advancement of our Colonial interests. Still, at the date last mentioned, such vehicles were making their way to popular favor, and thus proportionably reduced the practice of journeying on horseback. How they had increased by 1732, is indicated by the remark, then made, that, at the funeral of Lt. Governor William Tailer, "a great number of gentry attended in their coaches and chaises, etc." As carriages came into vogue for the milder seasons, so, of course, would sleighs be adopted for winter. One of the latter was advertised, 1724, for sale, in Boston.

When the snow blocked up our roads, it was common for persons, whom necessity called abroad, to use snow shoes or rackets. A newspaper of the metropolis, in 1705, says, "there is no travelling with horses, especially beyond Newbury, but with snow shoes." Dr. Holyoke's diary of 1748, notices a similar fact.

In order to derive benefit from the increase of carriages, the General Court, in 1737, laid a tax on them. A coach was assessed at 50/, à chaise of four wheels 30/, and every other chaise, calash or chair 20/. For the purchase of land and the erection of an edifice in Boston, where linen might be manufactured, the legislature, in 1753, adopted a similar measure. They allowed every town to send, at least, one person for the purpose of learning such an art free of expense. The charge on each coach was 10/, chariot 5/, chaise 3/, calash 2/, and chair 2/. This excise was collected for five years. It was assessed the first year, on 6 coaches, 18 chariots, 339 chaises and 992 chairs and calashes, being all of the Province. At the same time, Salem had 10 chaises and 40 chairs, apparently including calashes. Here we have a definite idea of this town's journeying accommodations, by means of carriages, for that period.

The first notice we have of a vehicle, for the carrying of passengers, our way, was in 1761. Then "a large stage chair" or curricule, drawn by two horses, came from Portsmouth through Salem on its route to Boston, and returned, once a week. In this respect, our fathers were much behind the people of Boston. These, as early as 1716, had a carriage, for the like purpose, go and come from Newport, R. I., once a fortnight "while the ways were passable." Benjamin Coats of Salem began to run a stage, in 1766, between this town and Boston. Such conveyance from the eastward was greatly hindered, 1768, by the horses having an "epidemical distemper." Two years afterwards, Mr. Coats advertised, that he had purchased

"a new stage chaise," which would be placed on the line from Salem to Boston, April 29, "so that he will then, with the one now improved in that business, be able to carry and bring passengers, bundles, etc.," every day, except Sunday. He also stated, that he had five fall back chaises, one fall back curricule, six standing top chairs and three sulkies to let. He had a noted sleigh, called the Vengeance, and remembered by the aged of our day, which was drawn by four horses. Mr. Coats notified his customers, Feb. 1774, that he intended to reside in Boston. The next April, Ezra Lunt, of Newburyport, informed the public, that he ran a four horse coach from that place to the metropolis through Salem, on Monday, and had it return on Thursday. The ensuing July, Joseph Hovey, at the sign of the King's head in Danvers, on the Boston road, kept by William Jones, gave notice to our inhabitants, that he had a coach to carry passengers to Winisimet ferry for 3/ a-piece. He, also, proposed, if suitably encouraged, to carry them daily from our Ship Tavern in School street, to Marblehead, at 1/4 for each person. The following August, an individual, supposed to be a Mr. Very, who is said to have succeeded Mr. Coats, advertised a post chaise to ply between Salem and Boston, to go on Wednesday and return on Thursday, for passengers, letters and bundles. His price was 3/4 a seat to Winisimet ferry. It must be confessed, that there was occasion for the curiosity of our observing people to dwell some on these uncommon changes of travelling, as well as much on those of the political world around them. We are told by several, who lived in those perilous times, that

there was an occasional suspension in the running of our carriages, while the Revolutionary war continued. The number of horses in Salem, employed here, was, as previously stated, 130 to 196, from 1768 to 1781. Ezra Burrill of this place, gave notice in 1782, that by the middle of April, he should begin to run a stage coach to Boston. The same year, as an article of uncommon sale in this community, the widow of Judge Lynde advertised, that an elegant family chariot might be purchased at her house in Liberty lane. In 1784, Thomas Newhall published, that, on 13th of December, he should have a stage pass from Salem to Charlestown one day and return the next. On the 14th of the same month, Mr. Burrill stated, that he had made an alteration in his line so that one of his coaches would go every alternate day through Medford to Charlestown, and another thus come from Boston by Winisimet route, and, in this manner, till the ferry closed, when both of the carriages would follow the Charlestown course. Whoever went and came, paid 6/ each way; but if taking one passage, he was charged 7/6. In 1789, Mr. Burrill, as a means of reviving patronage to his line, lowers the fare, so that passengers both ways, should each pay 4/10 to, and the same from Charlestown, through Medford; but, if they only went or returned, it was 6/ a seat. By an excise act of our Legislature in 1790, which continued several years, carriages were taxed as follows. Every coach, chariot and post-chaise, £6; phaeton and four-wheeled chaise, £3; fall back chaise, 10/, and other chaise 6/; sulkey and riding chair 4/ a year. Though a stage was driven by Benjamin Teyler

from Marblehead to Boston, as far back as 1768, and one passed occasionally from Salem to the former town in 1774, yet it was not till 1794, that such a vehicle was run from Marblehead to our own city. Michael Basset was the proprietor of the last carriage. He came twice a day for three times a week, and, in 1797, he came daily at 1/6 a seat. So convenient an arrangement was continued in different hands and with partial interruptions, for a considerable period. In 1817, the fare was raised from 25 cents to 31; but the change met with so decided a rebuff from the public, that it was reduced in a few months to the old price. This was so in 1828. About this date, another concern ran a coach at 12½ cents a passenger. Subject to such vicissitudes, a line was sustained till a short period after the cars, in 1839, became its too powerful competitors. When the Mashabequash was thus passed by means, so strange to its waters, it was not likely to be again crossed by a regular stage. But in the course of 1843, Lot Peach removed the improbability by running one at 12½ cents a seat.

For securing an easier communication on the rough route between Salem and Gloucester, Jonathan Low began to run a coach on it in 1796, thrice a week, for the summer season. There had been a "Stage Wagon" from and before 1792, on the same course. Mr. Low gave notice, 1806, that his carriage would make its passage daily. This line has been continued by different proprietors. In 1843, it ran twice a day.

Besides the stages run at different periods, beginning 1796, from Beverly through our city to the metropolis, a daily commenced, 1828, between Salem

and the first town. A similar convenience was afforded, 1833, at 12½ cents a seat. These accommodations were but temporary.

As an unusual event among our community, more accustomed to carry themselves than to be carried, John Fernald, in 1805, took his stand with a hackney coach near Stearns's building. An accommodation of this kind, has slowly gained on the patronage of the public. The location, assigned the next year by the town authorities, for such coaches, and also sleighs, was south of the Court house.

A stage, from Salem to Haverhill, was commenced, 1810, by Morse and Fox, once a week, through Topsfield, Boxford and Bradford. Soon it went twice a week. Previously, travellers were only accommodated, on this route, by carriers who had a spare seat or two in their chairs. Robert Davis was in this service as far back as 1774. Of the preceding firm, Richard Morse, in 1811, took a new direction to Haverhill through Andover. To the latter town his charge was \$1,12½, and to the former \$1,25. The Post-chaise was succeeded, 1819, by a mail coach, which ran three times a week, the fare being \$1. This new establishment belonged to one of the Manning companies, who continued it as far down as 1839. It appears to have run daily for several years. Ephraim Corlis, Jr., gave notice, in 1823, that he should run a coach three times a week, from Haverhill to Salem. During the year last named, another stage was driven from this place through Haverhill to Concord, N. H. In 1828, an opposition company set up a coach here for Haverhill at a fare of 75 cents. The two last enterprises were



not of long continuance. A line thither has been sustained amid clashing interests and change of proprietors. The present one, which goes thrice a week, is conducted by Isaac Pinkham, at \$1 a passenger.

In 1819, a coach began to run twice a week, for the South Parish of Andover. It continued several months. The next year, another was set up on the same route, but it was not permanent.

The manufacturing interests of Lowell, had risen so much as to justify the enterprise of extending its conveniences of travel to our own town. In 1826, a coach came thence every other day. The fare was \$1,25. The succeeding year, Samuel Manning set up a mail stage, which went thither the like number of times, at \$1,50 a seat. This line is continued by Thomas Adams. It seems to have been a daily for several years. In 1842, Simon Pindar began to drive a coach to Wilmington, every alternate day, so that his passengers might take the cars for Lowell. Should this Manchester of New England be fostered by the protective policy of the General Government, its intercourse with our citizens will be proportionably increased.

To facilitate communication with our neighbors of Danvers, a coach, in 1828, began running thence to Salem; twice a day, at 12½ cts. a passenger. Its route included the north part of that town. An opposition coach commenced soon afterwards, but it was not permanent. The line, in 1836, extended to Beverly. Not long after, it was restricted to its original bounds. At present, it passes twice a day, on each course. Morse & Steele, in 1838, put an Omnibus on the road

### 322 IPSWICH, ESSEX, LYNN AND BOSTON STAGES.

from South Danvers. It was called the Transport. This carriage, so pertinently named, appeared in our streets soon after another of similar construction, which plied on the way to Boston. Like its compeer, it failed not, as a huge novelty, to attract many eyes and occasion many remarks. In 1841, it ran hourly and so continues. Then a new line commenced here, to compete with the other, but it continued only a few weeks.

About 1833, a coach came daily from Ipswich to this place. It was under the direction of Frederic Mitchel. It continued after 1836. But the Railroad dispensed with the need of such accommodation.

Thomas Nurse, in 1833, commenced a stage from Essex to Salem. It ceased in several months.

A coach has run from Lynn to this city since 1832, over Forest river road. At present, Benjamin Pierce continues one in the same direction. Fare 25 cts.

Having attended to the public conveyances for passengers on several of the avenues to Salem, we will resume those between it and the metropolis. In 1798, Badger & Blake set up a stage there for this route. William Manning and Joseph Cross commenced here, in 1801, a similar enterprise. These two persons became noted for their activity in so useful an employment. Particularly has the first, in connection with his brothers, secured such repute by extending the facilities of travel, more than any other individual of Essex County. The fare, on the Boston line, was \$1.25 in 1817, and, in 1821, it was reduced to \$1. In 1819, Robert Manning and company began to run a stage through Danvers. In 1827 and

1828, several new coaches were driven at 50 and 75 cts. a seat. Simon Pindar run one, 1831, over Forest river road. He commenced with the last price, but, in several months, came down to the first. There was a varying from one of these rates to the other until the Railroad was opened for travel. Since, a half dollar has been the fixed price.

As a matter of much attraction and speculation, efforts were made, with an apparent prospect of success, in 1832 and 3, to form a company for running steam carriages on the Turnpike, from Salem to Boston. This project was encouraged by experiments, which had been made in England. But the conclusion subsided finally in the more practical method of running cars on the Railroad. Unable to compete with this new mode of travelling, the Eastern Stage Company, Feb. 12, 1838, advertised all their joint stock for sale. Their enterprise was well conducted. It greatly accommodated our own and other communities. When undertaken, it bid fair to have a long and profitable continuance. But it was met by an overwhelming trial, disastrous to them, though beneficial to the public. Such is the frequent experience in human calculations. Among the different vehicles, conducted on the ways to Boston, an Omnibus appeared, in the year last named, as an object of much curiosity. It was driven by Adrian Low for two years. It reminded us, as to room for passengers, of the wagons called caravans, in Old England, 1565, and named on our colony records, 1645, each of which, as fashionable conveyances, would hold 25 persons.

With regard to the amount of travellers from our

city to the metropolis; we may form an idea by a general statement of the coaches at different periods.— These carriages, of course, do not include many others, which passed the same course through our streets for the eastward. Nor do they embrace extras, which were neither few nor unfrequent. From 1802 to 1823, there were four and five; from the last year to 1834, there were six and seven; from this to 1836, eleven and twelve. In 1837 there were eight; for a portion of 1838, twelve, and the other portion, six.— In 1839 there was one carriage, and this number has continued at a fare of 50 cts. to tally with that of the cars. We have a particular account, which bears on the point before us. On Dec. 6th of 1831, the Salem and Boston Stage Companies had 19 coaches run hither with 219 passengers. For a week, ending the 3d of the same month, their carriages brought us 1,031 persons. In view of our Stage history, we may say, seldom are the instances, in which so sudden and extensive a change occurs, as it now lays before us. The many have at once become few. Such alternations are likely to take place in all great thoroughfares, wherever a Railroad is established. This, in point of absorption, is the rod that swallows up the rest.

As the roads to the metropolis were altered, so, of course, were distances varied. Formerly the direction was over Charlestown ferry, through Medford, Malden, Lynn and Danvers, making about 20 miles. Then, over the new road, including Malden bridge, it was 17 miles, and afterwards, over the Turnpike, 15 miles. This is one of the many varieties, in which

human inclination always leans to the saving of time and toil. .

Though it is high time that we had done with travelling, still there is one or two more of its concerns, which will not suffer us to quit the track, till they appear in the review. The wagon, though more homely than the coach, is no less useful. The kind carried by a single horse, appeared about 1810, and gradually increased. Most of our townsmen, engaged in laborious occupations and owning horses, ceased to ride these animals on the back and used them in such vehicles. Wagons of this sort have been employed to bring produce to our market, which had been borne hither either in carts, or in wallets and panniers, thrown across the backs of horses.

The last call we have here, is from the Cab. Though this handy, but not easy article, has been long used in Europe, yet many years have not passed since its appearance in our cities. The first notice we have of them in Salem, was in the spring of 1842. Then William Lovejoy and Joseph Smith advertised, that each of them had provided one to accommodate the public at the rate of 12½ cts. a seat. However such carriages have been multiplied in other places, yet they have not so won upon the liking of our citizens as to be increased among them. Though a third was subsequently set up, it did not long survive. The present name of this conveyance is undoubtedly the first syllable of the French Cabriolet. The last word is from Cabriole, which signifies a goat-leap, by no means an inapposite expression of the motion of the carriage.

## MAILS AND POST OFFICES.

However letters from a far country, may be particularly acceptable to the scattered settlers of a new world, yet years must elapse before the progress of society there will be enough for the regular establishment of mails and post offices. Such was the experience of our ancestors. Not till 1639, did our General Court, according to their records, take any steps in a matter of this sort. Then they ordered, that all who chose, should deposit letters, "brought from beyond seas," with Richard Fairbanks of Boston. He was to dispatch them according to their direction. For his care, he was allowed 1<sup>d</sup> a letter. In 1674, the same authorities required, that post-men, on public service, should have 3<sup>d</sup> a mile, as their full compensation, and that no innholder should charge them more than 2/ a bushel for oats, and 4<sup>d</sup> for hay, during day and night. A petition was laid before them, 1677, by a number of merchants, that, as letters of importance had been frequently lost, because "thrown upon the exchange" in Boston, they would pass a rule, for the prevention of so great an evil and for the rates of postage. Accordingly, they designated John Hayward, the scrivener, for such an office in the metropolis. With the repeal of our Colonial charter, the immediate power to control these concerns, was taken from the Massachusetts legislature. They passed a law, in 1693, which complied with the appointment of Thomas Neal, as post master general of British America, and Andrew Hamilton, as his deputy, by the King in Council. The same act allowed, that, for Massachu-



setts, a "general letter office" should be located in Boston, and its keeper be designated by the latter of the two last named gentlemen. It set the postage of a single letter, from the capital to Salem, at 4<sup>d</sup>. It confined the carriage of letters for hire, to the regular post men. These facts, with the situation and size of Salem, indicate, that a post office had then been established here.

In 1704, the carrier of the mail had his route from Boston to the eastward, through this town. There was particular mention made, in 1711, of a post office among our population. Tradition affirms, that Jonathan Palmer, who died at Newbury, 1726, in his 59th year, was post man, for many years, on the course last specified. The earliest name of our post masters, which has come to the knowledge of the writer, was Edward Norris, in 1768. Among the most noted carriers of the mail, with whom he had to do, was John Noble. In the discharge of his duties, the last person rode between Boston and Portsmouth. Benjamin Hurt, engaged in similar employment, advertised, 1770, that he had left riding the post horse, and taken "the same post stage, lately improved by John Noble." This indicates, that Mr. Noble had relinquished his charge of the mail by the year last expressed. The article, in which he used to carry letters, is deposited in the Portsmouth Athenæum. "It is made of tin, and is only four inches wide, four inches high and ten inches long; about double the size of a common cartridge box." A contrast indeed, when compared with the large bags of the eastern mail, in our day, which are transported six times oftener, than so interesting a

relic of former years. A communication, of March 28, 1774, from the Boston committee of correspondence, is received by a similar committee here, on the subject of establishing post offices and post riders, independent of the Crown. When the struggle for freedom had commenced, our Provincial Congress took the concern, within their jurisdiction, into their own hands. Among the post masters, whom they appointed, May 13, 1775, was Mr. Norris, who thus received a confirmation of the trust, previously conferred on him. They raised the postage of a single letter, from 4<sup>d</sup> to 5½<sup>d</sup>, for not above 60 miles, and so in proportion. Then there were only three other post offices in Essex County, besides our own, which was kept in the shop,<sup>1</sup> now No. 43, Washington street. The succeeding July, our National Government assumed the control of this business for all the States, and elected Benjamin Franklin, post master general. They allowed his deputies 20 per cent. of what they paid to him, not exceeding \$1,000, but on what was above this sum, only 10 per cent. Thus a concern, which had been regulated, under the second charter, by officers of the Crown, was broken from such a relation and incorporated among our free institutions.

Congress required, Aug. 30, 1776, that "there be employed, on the public post-roads, a rider for every 25 or 30 miles, whose business it shall be to proceed through his stage three times in every week." In 1779, Muscoll Williams was the keeper of our post office, in a shop, now No. 290, Essex street. He seems to have succeeded Mr. Norris. He gave notice

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Caleb Foot, Esq., on Salem post office.

in 1788, that from May 1, to Nov. 1, the eastern and western mails would come three times a week. At the other portion of the year, their arrival was one third less frequent. By 1792, there were carried in the course of a week, two mails to Gloucester, four to Marblehead, and one daily to Boston. The last was transported by "Burrill's Stage Wagon." The Marblehead mail was then carried by Mr. Fabens, on foot, who had lost one of his arms. Besides such conveyances, there still continued to be a carrier of letters and other things to Haverhill weekly.

Having succeeded Mr. Williams, after Aug. 21, 1792, John Dabney kept the office at the corner of Essex and Washington streets. In 1800, he was at the corner of Essex and Central streets. In the spring of that year, he moved to a new building at the foot of the Market street, called Concert square. His last location was on the premises occupied by Bowker Place. Three mail stages, from Boston on the eastern route, in 1802, arrived daily at Salem. The ensuing year, the mail was carried twice a day to Marblehead, by the stage. In 1805 it was sent thrice a week to Gloucester. Joseph E. Sprague succeeded Mr. Dabney, 1815. He moved to Franklin building; to the corner of Court and Essex streets in 1817; to the corner of Essex and St. Peter's streets in 1818; where he remained while in such official capacity. In 1826, there were six daily mails, three thrice a week and one weekly arrived at our Post Office, and as many of like order departed. Two years after, the dailies had increased one and the tri-weekly one. After the accession of Andrew Jackson to the Presi-

dency, Mr. Sprague was succeeded, 1829, by Ebenezer Putnam. The latter gentleman remained a while in the apartment hired by his predecessor, and then moved to the East India Marine Buildings, where the office has continued. As a novel event in correspondence by letters, Mr. Putnam, after the Banks had stopped specie payments, received an order from the General Post Master and published it May 30, 1837, not to take any other money than hard, for postage. This measure, enforced through the country, was very unpopular and did not remain long. In 1841, there were ten daily mails, and two tri-weekly, which arrived here, and, 1843, eleven of the former and four of the latter. This, in comparison with ancient data, shows a great increase of correspondence. The amount of such intercourse is more than twenty times greater than it was 68 years ago, without taking into the account the proportionate addition of offices in our vicinity. With regard to the compensation of the Post Masters, within a half century, it has been various. Mr. Dabney's commissions ranged from \$200 to \$1,000 a year; Mr. Sprague's from \$1,000 to \$1,600 and over. The last sum has not varied much since. Though there has been an enlargement of correspondence, yet the new offices of the neighborhood have been enough to prevent an increase of postage in this city.

The question whether there may be private conveyances of letters on regular post routes, has been sometimes discussed in our community. The practice has long existed here in a greater or less degree, and has occasionally been checked by our Post Office authori-

ties. Still it has never assumed the open attitude here, which it has recently in our largest cities. The matter is before our highest judicial tribunal. All must confess the need of national Post Offices, and that whatever plainly jeopardizes their continuance, should be suppressed. Few privileges, secured by public supervision, exceed well regulated mails. These have a large share in the promotion of intellectual intercourse, in the advancement of literature and the cultivation of social affections. These are among the most efficient means that

“Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,  
And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole.”

## CARRIERS.

Prior to the facilities of intercourse between different portions of our country, by means of established post roads, and of stages sustained by private enterprise, necessity required that there should be carriers of letters and packages. Hence, the ancient practice of our Colonial authorities in employing expresses. Their example was undoubtedly followed by individuals, as they had occasion. But the lack of newspapers, in our community, till modern years, prevents our knowing much of such business. In 1774, Robert Davis set off every Tuesday, at 9 o'clock, in his chair, from the printing office of Messrs. Halls, with their Gazettes, and also, with letters, packets and bundles, on his way to Haverhill. The manifest welcome of many to his arrival, in the several towns of his course, so that their desire for news and family supplies might be satisfied, must have continually imparted a lively interest to his employment.

In 1781, John Rea of Danvers was similarly engaged by our inhabitants on the way from Salem to Boston. The next year, Benjamin Diamon, one of our townsmen, is found concerned in the like business. He went, three times a week, from this place to the metropolis. He yet vividly lives in the remembrance of our aged citizens, who have associated him with the pleasant scenes of their childhood. On the Eastern Route, Mr. Akerman, as successor of Noble and Hart, appears, 1785, occupied in so convenient a calling. As stages rose and their drivers assumed the duties of such carriers, so did the latter, for the greater part, disappear. Since the steam cars have run, the class last named, have gradually increased, so that there are several now on the track from this city to the capital. The carrier, in the like direction, on the Turnpike, is Adrian Low. He began, 1840, to run a light wagon, with one horse, for the transportation of various articles. This concern is called "the Package Line," and has proved itself worthy of public patronage.

#### BAGGAGE WAGONS.

Among the diversified inventions to meet the calls of our business community, are the carriages, specified at the head of this article. We meet with one, advertised, 1804, by John L. Matthews of this place. He ran it twice a week to Boston and then back, for the purpose of transporting goods. It appeared in his name till after the fore part of 1808. The use he applied it to, shows, that it resembled a baggage wagon. . . . But he called it a "stage wagon." If this name



really signified baggage wagon, then one was employed, on the same route, as early as 1792, by Mr. Burrill of Salem, and another by Mr. Lowe, before 1792, from Gloucester to this town. James Young notified, 1805, that he had commenced running a baggage wagon from Salem to Boston. But dying before the year closed, his concern was taken by George Wiggins. Philip Wells stated, 1808, that having been in this business for several years, on the same routes, he still proposed to have it continued. The following year, his charge for the carriage of one hundred, was 75 cts., and, for a less weight, 1 ct. a pound. John Todd established, in 1815, a daily wagon in the like direction. The next year, Jesse Fuller gave notice, that, having been similarly employed, for several years, from this place to the metropolis, he should extend his line to Newburyport. In 1818, H. and D. Merritt & Co. ran a wagon to the last town, through ours, from Marblehead, where they were then located. Merritt and Ashby, in 1822, had a daily from Salem to Boston. During the same year, as Mr. Fuller was killed by the overturning of his wagon, in the upper part of Essex street, Stephen Towne, who had been in his employ, succeeded as proprietor of the line. Short of two years afterwards, this concern came into the hands of Peter Edgerly and others. In 1831, H. Noyes was engaged in such employment. David Merritt, having taken an office in Boston, 1833, still had lines continued from Salem to that city and to Cambridge and Newburyport. In 1839, he gave notice, that he should keep up his wagon to our city over the Turnpike, while he transported goods hither

by the Railroad cars. Experience, as to business of this kind, has shown it to be of much toil and of no great profit.

#### AQUEDUCT.

It was perceived by those, provident for others benefit as well as their own, that there was increasing need for our population to have a greater supply of wholesome water. A movement was accordingly made in 1796. The next year, March 9, subscribers to the object, were incorporated, under the title of "The Proprietors of the Salem and Danvers Aqueduct." Spring Pond was used as the head source for furnishing the fountains. The stock consisted of 100 shares at \$600 each. It yielded 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. for a considerable period. At length, so many of the inhabitants were dissatisfied with the annual charge of the corporation, that a new company associated, several years since, and proceeded to the purchase of iron pipes. But a compromise was made by a large reduction of the price, and the rival concern was dropped. Such a diminution and a large outlay on the works, has, for some years, allowed but small income, and, for others, not any. A share now is worth about \$400. The terms are \$4 for a family of three members, and 50 cts. for every additional one. Among various obstructions in the pipes, one has been found, not originally anticipated. It is from the roots of trees, which, while mere filaments of a hair's size, have entered the logs and filled the bores. Near the Danvers burying ground, it was observed, that two trees, of similar size when planted, grew with different degrees

of rapidity. One lifted and spread its branches much more than the other, without any visible cause. At length, a part of the adjacent aqueduct refused to perform its office. An examination was made and, lo, a root of the luxuriant tree was found to have perforated a log and entirely occupied its passage. The secret was explained. The craving tree was left to the natural resources of its more honest neighbor.

#### MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

The government of towns in New England, like that of her Congregational churches, promoted Republican liberty before fully secured, and has done much for its continuance since it was gained. The honor and happiness of every community depend on the righteous administration of its concerns. For the accomplishment of so desirable an end, rulers of intelligence and integrity must be elected. This was especially so in the first establishment of our ancient plantations.

*Town government.*—The General Court allow in 1636, that the freemen of every plantation, shall not only be empowered to grant lands within their bounds, but also, to adopt rules for their government, not opposed to those of the colony; to assess and collect fines for offences not above 20<sup>s</sup> and appoint their several officers.

*Town officers.*—The different classes of these, as belonging to Salem, will be named at the first dates, when seen by the writer, or known to have been required by laws of the Commonwealth. As the records of this corporation, now extant, are several years later

than its beginning, some of such trusts, in the gift of its freemen, must have existed prior to the years placed before them. Until the removal of the colonial government from Naumkeag, in 1630, the members of it probably did for this location, all, which was necessary, so that the choice of others, for the same purpose, was inexpedient. From such a change, municipal authorities were needed.

1630. *Constables*.—John Woodbury was appointed, as one of these officers for Salem, by the Court of Assistants. Our records of 1646, read, "Its agreed y<sup>t</sup> two black staues of 6 feet long or thereabout be provided for y<sup>e</sup> Constables and Edmund Batter is to speak to Francis Perry to have them made." A few months afterwards, the legislature required such staves to be tipped on the upper end with five or six inches of brass. As a like order had existed in England, it appears to have been the origin of the expression, "tip staff," as applied to Constables. The same year, such an order was adopted, by our General Court. They impowered Constables, where no magistrate was, "to signe and put forth persuites, or Hue and Cryes," after certain offenders. In 1687, there was a vote of our inhabitants, "that Timothy Lindall should write to Capt. Gerrish at Boston, to gett this town six Constables' staves."

1634. *Watchmen*.—Two of these were ordered by the Assistants, to guard each plantation every night. It is likely, that such nightly protectors were chosen from the first settlement of Naumkeag. In 1636, the Quarterly Court order, that the watchmen, warned to serve, shall appear half an hour after sunset, to receive

instructions and not return home in the morning without permission. The legislature require, that every town shall provide accommodations for watchmen. Two classes of these were spoken of in 1640; one named the Constables' watch, because regulated by such police officers, and the other, military, because appointed by military officers. They were composed of males, aside from exempts, who were above 15 years of age, and who were notified to take their turns.

The succeeding contract was made Nov. 10, 1676. "Agreed with Arthur Hughes to bee bellman for y<sup>e</sup> towne from this present time to y<sup>e</sup> first of May next, viz., that y<sup>e</sup> said Hughes shall begin to take his walk about 10 o'clock att night from y<sup>e</sup> bridge to Henry Moises his house, passing through all y<sup>e</sup> streets and lanes within the circumference of y<sup>e</sup> towne, to give notice of y<sup>e</sup> time of night, what weather, etc. according to custome, and take special care to prevent fire and any disorder in y<sup>e</sup> night by giving timely notice thereof and to continue y<sup>e</sup> said perambulation until break of day. In consideration whereof y<sup>e</sup> selectmen have agreed to pay y<sup>e</sup> said Hughes £5 out of y<sup>e</sup> towne rate and, in case he manage y<sup>e</sup> business to satisfaction, it is left to y<sup>e</sup> selectmen to give him more not exceeding 20<sup>s</sup>." Tradition used to tell wonderful sights, said to have been seen by our ancient bellmen. It related, that one of them, while passing his solitary rounds, was surprised at the appearance of a funeral procession, in all its solemnities, passing from the door of a particular house. Of course, this spectral scene was extensively interpreted as the omen of speedy affliction.

1678. May 1. "Agreed the Constables' watch shall be sett of six men every night with arms and ammunition according to law, and that they begin at Deacon Prince's corner and goe downe eastward." It appears that such a watch was kept till the fall, when the bellmen did their service till the spring, when it was resumed by them. In October, Hughes began his duty at the small compensation of 12<sup>d</sup> a night, in "Town pay" or produce.

1679. Notice was given to one of our Constables, as follows: "You are hereby required in his majesty's name to warne 13 men euery night to watch and bee exact to see the full number appeares and attends; the one halfe, att least, to bee sober honest men and householders, to one of which you shall commit the charge and care of the watch, and warne them to bee very carefull to examine any night walkers, strangers or others, who are abroad att unreasonable hours and to secure any suspitious persons, that cannot giue a good account of their business and to the vtermost of their endeavor to bee careful to prevent fires being made or sett unto the towne by evil instruments, that may seek our ruin." As successor to the last bellman named, Walter Skinner agreed in 1680, to serve from Oct. to May, when the Constables' watch began, for £7 and "carsey sufficient to make him a coate."

Walter Skinner having faithfully done the duty of a bellman, was followed by John Simpson, who, in Nov. of 1699, contracted, for 36/ a month, "to walk y<sup>e</sup> towne" from 10 o.c. "till break of day and to doe his endeavor to prevent fire, or mischiefe any other



way, and to preuent any disorders in y<sup>e</sup> towne." As an object of great attraction to the younger part of community, and as significant of its use, the watch-house was surmounted with the image of a watchman, which, in 1725, received a coat of paint, a rare covering for that age. The location of this specimen of our sculpture was in "school house lane." By 1727, a bellman was the only watch for the year round. John Meachem then served, and, for this period, had £30, probably the depreciated currency. Two years afterwards, several men were hired to watch with the bellman on election week. The reason was, "to prevent all disorders, that may arise from so great a concourse of people, as usually there are on such publick occasions."

After the employment of a bellman, and the suspension of the "Constables' watch" for a long period, the latter was revived, 1774, and consisted of 10 persons. This number was drawn, as usual, from lists of taxable inhabitants, who took their respective turns each night. The same year, a new watch-house was erected on land, southward of Joseph Henfield's warehouse. The great fire occasioned these changes. The customary arms of the watch were specified, 1784, as being a spear and hook. Having dispensed several years with such nightly guards, and with even the lone bellman, whose office seems to become extinct prior to 1774, a vote passed, 1790, to hire watchmen at 48<sup>s</sup> a month, for each of them. A temporary provision of this kind had been recently made to allay the fear of our inhabitants because of frequent thefts in town. Such a mode of providing for the

safety of our population and of their property, has continued as a substitute for its predecessors. Among the reminiscences of this service, least likely to be forgotten, was the watchman's voice, which broke the stillness of midnight, and often disturbed slumber while it relieved the weariness of the wakeful, proclaiming the "all's well," the hour and the weather. This custom, which seems to have begun with our early settlement, was required, 1795, among the duties of the watchmen. About 22 years after this date, it was laid aside. Though its omission may be better than its observance, for the detection of nightly transgressors, yet there is regret to leave it among the past realities, which no longer mark their pleasant traces on the memory of childhood, as they once did on that of other days. As a safeguard to our community, a number of its public spirited members formed themselves, 1811, into a voluntary watch. This has been done several times. On one occasion, like these, some of the young men, attached to the watch, would frequently pass Dr. Bentley's door, and in tones not altogether unlike those of Stentor, would give the watchman's cry. He, perceiving that this was done more for their merriment, than his comfort, came out in a newspaper and inquired, "if it would not be better to cry out when all was not well and let well enough alone."

The charge for watchmen, 1820, was \$1,700, and 1843, \$2,234. Their wages, in 1836, was 75 cts. a night for each of them, except their captain, who had 87½ cts. They are the same now. This, however much greater than in ancient times, is no extravagant

compensation, though when viewed in the aggregate, it sometimes brings over the public mind such an earnestness for retrenchment, that it is zealous to vote down the whole concern as of little or no value. But a well regulated watch, in a series of years, besides its prevention of disorder and immorality, which is better than money, it preserves far more property than all its charges.

1635. "*Overseers and Layers out of Lotts of ground.*"

1636. *The Thirteen men*, called, on our records, the "Towne Representatives." This phrase has led to the mistake of supposing, that such individuals were members of the General Court, instead of having only the oversight of our town affairs. Their number was equal to that of the colonial government here prior to the arrival of Governor Winthrop. It is likely, that they were elected soon after the Court of Assistants left Naumkeag, and that they were as many from that time to the year which heads this paragraph. Such authorities were twelve and seven, sometimes called "the Townsmen," "the select Townsmen," and, at others, "twelve men," and "the seven men," from the former part of 1637 to 1649. From the last year to 1654, they were, for part of that period, denominated selectmen and afterwards entirely so styled. During a long series of years, they discharged the duties of Assessors and Overseers of the Poor. In 1643, the selectmen agreed to meet punctually once a month "vpon the penaltie of 10/, to be levied on the whole, or vpon such of them, as are absent without

sufficient ground." Each of them, was allowed, 1722, for doing the work of an Assessor, 2<sup>s</sup> a day.

1636. *Town Clerk*.—There can be but little doubt, that the varied calls of the selectmen, required a scribe to record them so soon as such authorities were chosen. Still, the words, Town Clerk, were seldom used in our early records, nor do we meet with them till 1666. From this date, such an officer, was called, interchangeably, Recorder and Clerk, for some years ; but since, the last term only has been applied to him. His salary, in 1695, was £4 and "benefit of the records," and, in 1795, £9.

1636. *Hog Reeves*.—One ordered for every plantation, and to be "a discreet man."

1637.—*Auditors of accounts*.

*Treasurer*.—Ralph Fogg is mentioned, this year, in such a capacity. The Treasurer, 1695, had 1<sup>d</sup> on £1 of all the town's money, which passed through his hands, as compensation for his service. In 1711, he had £8 a year ; 1748, £50 depreciated currency ; 1800 \$35, and 1808, \$100. A vote passed, 1806, to allow \$100 salary to Benjamin Pickman, sen., then holding the trust, but he declined to take more than \$30.

*Keepers of Cattle or Neat herds. Goat Herds. Shepherds. Surveyors of high ways. Fence Viewers.*

1639. *Receiver of things lost*.—Our freemen voted "that Ralph Fogg receive such goods as none doe owne and send a note of them to the marshall att Boston." A trust of this kind was assigned, by the legislature, 1647, to Constables, who were obliged to keep a written account of what was committed to

their charge and to cry them at the next Lecture, or general town meeting on three successive days. If an animal was found, the finder was required to put about its neck, as a sign, "a wyth or wreath." It would be well for many a loser, if such a custom was more fully observed in all our towns and cities. It is one of the "good old ways," whose neglect does not indicate the wisdom of the present age.

1640. *Swine keepers.*

1641. *Gagers and Packers. Clerk of Writs.*

1642. *Town Crier.*—He had 2<sup>d</sup> for every article he cried. *Leather Searchers.*

1642. *Clerk of the Market.*—"Jostory Mussey is chosen clarke of the market." As we had a market 1634, a clerk of it was probably then elected.

1644. *Pound Keeper.*—The legislature passed a law 1635, that there shall be a pound in every plantation.

1647. *Commissioner*, called the eighth man, to join with the selectmen in assessing taxes. He was to look out for the interest of the Commonwealth. Such an office was long continued. The legislature would occasionally appoint a committee in each town, as in 1639, to value its property.

1646. *Fish Viewers.*

1647. *Sealer of weights and measures.*

1648. *Measurer of Salt.*

1655. *Commissioners* for small causes in compliance with law of 1647.

*Commissioner* for marriages.—William Hathorne was elected by the town to officiate on such occasions. The choice was not valid till confirmed by General

Court:—Such a trust accorded with a law of 1646, which was contrary to the law of England and sanctioned a prior and similar custom here of none but laymen's performing a service of this kind. Lechford, who left our Colony, 1641, said of it, "marriages are solemnized by magistrates and not by ministers." The duty was confined to laymen till 1686, when it was extended to clergymen, who were impowered by act of 1692, to continue its performance.

1658. *Commissioners* to carry votes to the County Commissioners, for nomination of magistrates.—This accorded with an act of 1647.

1670. *Inspector of strangers.*

*Corder.*—"Thomas Oliver is chosen corder of the wood, that is sold in the towne." Persons of his station were called "measurers of wood," in 1783, when they had "three coppers a cord." Now they have 5 cts. a load for wood or bark.

1677. *Tythingmen.*—Twenty-five Tythingmen were chosen to supervise the families, supposed to be ten, assigned to each of them respectively. Such an appointment was, in that period, a strong check on social irregularities. It was an imitation of English custom, introduced as long ago as the reign of Alfred.

1683. *Cullers of Fish.*

1685. *Valuers of Wheat for Bakers.*

1687. *Inspectors of Bricks.*

1693. *Collectors of Taxes.*—Constables had discharged their duties.

1694. *Field Drivers.*—Their service had long been done by individuals under other names.

1712. *School Committee.*—Selectmen had served in such a capacity.



1718. *Measurers* and Surveyors of Lumber.
1727. *Executors* of Bye-laws.
1731. *Committee* to prevent the destruction of Alewives.—Their care was afterwards extended to other River fish.
1735. *Surveyors* of hemp and flax.
1740. *Deer Reeves*.—To see the law for the preservation of Deer, enforced.
1747. *Viewers* and Cullers of staves.
1750. *Overseers* of Poor, whose duties had been discharged by the selectmen.
1753. *Fire Wardens*.—Five chosen according to law of 1744. Their place had been supplied by the selectmen and others united with them.
1765. *Wardens*.—They were to see that the Sabbath was properly kept. The wards were then six, which had one warden for each of them. In 1756, there were four wards.
1790. *Inspector* of the Police.
- Board of Health*, whose duties had been performed by selectmen.
1793. *Inspectors* of Tobacco.

Thus have we looked over the various offices, which arose and continued in this place, before the close of its long existence as a town. They denote interesting changes of society, and manifest how incidental exigences call for like alterations. Whatever motives may have actuated the occupants of any among them, these persons, for the most part, have been summoned from all earthly scenes and influences. The rupture of the tenor, by which such trusts were formerly held in their respective lives, neither

wakes their reposing dust nor disturbs their waiting spirits. But while so inoperative on those, who have passed away, it was properly a subject of attention and action with their surviving successors. It came before the population of Salem as far back as 1805, when it was dismissed. Having gained on their favor, it was approved by them February 15, 1836, and an act of the legislature was obtained for its execution, the next March 23d. Thus broken from long continued associations, connecting the deeds of the fathers with their children, our inhabitants subjected themselves to the authority of a city government. This was organized, May 9, in the Tabernacle church. The ancient practice of prayer at our Spring meetings, was continued, on the occasion, by Rev. John Brazer. The official oath of Mayor to Leverett Saltonstall, was administered by David Cummings, Esq. Mr. Saltonstall then did the like service for the Aldermen and Common Council. He, also, delivered an eloquent and pertinent Address. Similar proceedings have been annually observed.

As a matter, more for the information of those, who shall come after us to take their part in life's drama, than of our cotemporaries, the succeeding items are stated. The several branches of our present government, consist of a Mayor, six on the Board of Aldermen and twenty-four in the Common Council. The charter divided the city into six wards, which were diminished to four in less than a year. In these divisions, each of which makes an annual choice of a warden, clerk, and two assistants, the Mayor, Aldermen and Council are as often elected. Of the last

body, every ward chooses an equal proportion. The Mayor and Aldermen have power to appoint police officers, as the Marshal and Constables. The three branches, in convention, being called, in this collective capacity; City Council, elect, by joint ballot, Overseers of the Poor, School Committee, Treasurer and Collector, Fire Wards, City Clerk, Assessors and their Assistants, Commissioner of Streets, and other officers. As men cannot live by promotion alone, it is needful and just, that they be compensated for their labors. Among the different salaries of our present officers, we give the following. Mayor \$800, Treasurer \$600, City Clerk \$500, Commissioner of Streets \$300, Marshal \$200, and Assessors each \$200. Besides the above trusts in our city, are those of the Clerk of the Common Council, Messenger, Board of Health, Visiting Physician, Sealers of Weights and Measures, Superintendent of Burials, Fish Committee, Fence Viewers, Surveyor General of Lumber, Measurers of Wood and Bark, Culler of Hoops, Culler of Fish, Pound Keepers, Tythingmen, Field Drivers and Keeper of the Powder House. In running the eye along the several offices of this corporation, it beholds some, which our fathers would hail as old acquaintances, however clad in a more formal livery, than was seen in their age. Though the ancient voice was for a simple mode of government, yet the modern has rightly decided, that the population and interests of our community should be controlled by its present system of authority.

## CITY SEAL.

Though Salem was incorporated as a city in 1836, yet their seal was not adopted till March 11, 1839. To meet inquiries, which may naturally arise about the signification of the symbols, presented on the face of this instrument, which is intended to seal the public documents of our corporation, so long as it shall stand,—we have the following items. Within the shield is the view of a coast, located in the East Indies, with the figure of an inhabitant there in the dress common to the Asiatics; of trees indigenous to the soil of that country, and of a ship, from our own port, entering one of its bays. The whole was devised to represent this city as a place, distinguished for its commerce with the most distant, as well as the nearer portions of the globe. The dove, drawn above the shield, with an olive branch in her mouth, is typical of peace, which is the original signification of Salem.

## TOWN MEETINGS.

The conventions of our towns and cities carry much of their likeness and influence into our State and Congressional Councils. Much of weal or woe, depends on the mode of their being conducted. As an efficient means to keep our liberties from perversion and our public conscience from hardness and debasement, constant care should be exercised to preserve such assemblies from the outburst of political animosities, and to have them regulated by justice to the

rights of the minority, to the claims of the general good, and to the demands of Christian rectitude.

These meetings, on a small scale, probably commenced in the year of Conant and his company's removal to Naumkeag. Mrs. Pyncheon used to relate, that the first General Court of the Freemen was under a tree of the field, which was afterwards owned by major Stephen Sewall, her grandfather, near the Aqueduct reservoir, on the height of land in Sewall street. Tradition, also, informs us, that Governor Endicott and his Council met in a fort on the same premises. It is likely that their first town meetings were held there.

Before 1655, there had been a building erected for them. When such places of accommodation were under repairs; or pulled down to be supplied with new ones, the people usually resorted for their public business, to the house of worship. For nearly four years, from 1774 to 1778, they convened in the meeting house of the first congregation, where many of their most interesting resolves, on the subject of the Revolution, were discussed and passed. Afterwards they returned to the court house. When this was taken away, 1785, they met sometimes at Jeffry's Insurance Office, but generally at Joshua Ward's brick store, till 1787. Having been rebuilt, it was occupied by them, till the Town Hall was prepared, 1817, which they used to 1836. At this date, the different wards began to assemble in their respective ward rooms and they have so continued. The City Council met at the Court house till 1838, when the City Hall became the place of their convention and has thus remained.

From the religious character of our primitive settlers, we have no cause to doubt but that all such assemblies were opened with prayer. So reasonable a service was, in all probability, continued from that period, though the writer has not seen it, on our records, till 1756, when it was incidentally noticed. Since that year, the same duty appears often on the pages of such authority and the practice has been annual, at our spring meetings, to the present day. After this service, at different periods, acts of the legislature, against prevailing immoralities, were read to those convened.

The style, applied to our inhabitants in their collective capacity for public business, was expressed variously. It was, in 1636, "granted by the Freemen," and "at a generall Court or towne meeting." In 1656, "at a generall towne meeting of all the freemen."

Particulars as to the manner of calling the inhabitants together, may be worth the recital. In 1644, Goodman Auger was allowed 9<sup>s</sup> for twice warning the freemen from house to house, which took him four days and a half. "Ordered and agreed, 1646, that all the towne's men and freemen shall meet euerie second day for four weeks together, now following, to consider of the public good of the towne." Ordered, 1650, "that for all publique meetings, that concerne the towne in generall, or the freemen of the towne, warning being given on a lecture day, by the Constable, of the day and tyme, shall be a legall warning." The inhabitants voted, 1719, that "the town meeting be always warned on the lecture days whilst







*J. H. Bufford & Co's Lith. Boston*

*Jo. Endicott.*

*Correct likeness from the copy of an original in the Endicott family.*

and when there is a lecture, by a public reading of the warrant in the meeting house, immediately after the lecture is ended, according to the ancient custome of this town." In 1732, the voters within the Bridge were to be notified of a town meeting, from "house to house," and those beyond, by written notices on the Precinct and Village houses of worship and on the dwelling of William Porter. So great a degree of influence did such assemblies of the towns in Massachusetts, exert against the royal cause, they were forbidden, from August 1, 1774, by act of Parliament, to be summoned, except for the bare election of officers and representatives to the legislature, without the permission of the Governor, then General Gage. Earlier, in the same year, than the last date, this officer ineffectually endeavored to prevent a political meeting of our inhabitants, by the parade of an armed force.

The regal mode of heading warrants for such conventions, as well as of all public commissions, was abolished June 1, 1776, in our Commonwealth. Instead of being, as they were under the second charter, "in the name of his majesty," they were, "in the name of the government and people of Massachusetts," and, of being, as to date, "in the reign of any king or queen," they were, "in the year of our Lord." By our State Constitution, adopted 1780, such documents were issued "in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," which has been used to this time.

In 1787, notice of town meetings was given by Constables to persons of their respective wards, and

was, also, posted up in these sections. The latter part of this service is now practiced with a publication of the same, by the city clerk, in all the newspapers of Salem.

Among the rules, for conventions of this sort, we have the following. In 1639, over six freemen made a quorum, after they had waited an hour for the rest to come. In 1654, whoever did not seasonably attend, on such occasions, either in person or by proxy, after due notice, was fined 18<sup>d</sup>.

*Time of annual assemblies.*—Before Oct. 19, 1652, these meetings appear to have been in the last week of March. Then the legislature ordered them to be the second week of the last named month, in order to have votes for magistrates and associates of County Courts, which had been laid over from Nov. to the annual meeting of towns, sooner confirmed. In 1738, our inhabitants voted, that “the second Monday in March be the time for this town’s yearly meeting.” The rule, so adopted, was long in operation. The city charter appoints the date, for such a convention, “the Tuesday next preceding the second Monday in March.” Though the “old things” of our municipal polity have passed away, they discover an inventive mind judiciously scrutinizing the exigences of community, as they rose to view, and putting them under the checks of experience and wisdom.

*Voting.*—The ballot box, under the control of intelligence and virtue, is a more efficacious auxiliary for the overthrow of oppression and the continuance of freedom, than all the fortresses, navies and armies of the most mighty nation. It was dearly prized by our

fathers. They watched it with untiring vigilance. They threw around it all the safeguards, which discerning minds, patriotic hearts and strong hands could provide.

*Qualifications.*—For a considerable period from our first existence as a town, none, in conformity with usage and law of the colony, was permitted to sustain any public trust, unless he was a freeman. Every such individual was required, by order of 1631, to be the member of a church till 1664. Then, to comply with an order of Charles II. given in 1662, the General Court enacted, that others "orthodox in religion and not vicious in their lives," who were 24 years old and paid a tax of 10/, in a single country rate, should be alike privileged. No inhabitant was allowed, under the first charter, to vote in military and civil concerns, if not freemen, with the following exceptions. In 1636, it was ordered by the legislature, that individuals, attached to a train band and who had taken the oath of fidelity, though not freemen, might vote for their officers. In 1647, the same class were allowed to be chosen on juries and vote for selectmen, if a majority of the latter were freemen. They were privileged, 1670, not only to vote for the board of selectmen, but, also, to be members of it, if there was a similar majority and they were 24 years old and rated for £80. In 1673, as an essential qualification for their voting, eight persons presented themselves at Salem town meeting, and took the oath of fidelity. Voters, under the first charter, paid 1/8 a poll, 1<sup>d</sup> on £1 of property, to the Commonwealth. Such a rule appears to have been continued under the Usurpation

and afterwards to the second charter. This document, which greatly abridged the liberty of the people and permitted them to have a voice in their government only by choosing Representatives, required, as a condition of this privilege, that they should have a yearly income of 40<sup>s</sup>, or estate of £40 sterling. With regard to voting in town affairs, this rule was altered in 1742. Then whoever paid a poll tax and owned £20 where he lived, was thus privileged. As one of the most welcome and important changes in ballot qualifications, our State Constitution of 1780, provided, that all might vote for concerns of Town, Commonwealth and Nation, who paid their County and State taxes. The like privilege was confirmed by the Revised Statutes of 1836. But, according to their charter, Salem now requires, that for a man to be such a voter, he must pay his City as well as County and State taxes whenever assessed. The foregoing items furnish us with views, both ecclesiastical and political, which are prominent features in the aspect of our history.

*Different sorts of Votes.*—The term vote, is from the latin votum, and signifies the wish of electors for particular persons to be chosen for places of trust. It is called suffrage, a word used by Justinian to signify money. It is denominated ballot, from the French ballotte, a small ball cast in the election of men to office. As well known, the practice of voting by black and white balls is very ancient. With these significations before them, our fathers did not confine themselves to one mode or material for the expression of their desire as to candidates for official promotion.



It is evident that they, at first, were in the habit of raising the hand as significant of approval. In 1630, a question was brought before the commons, from the several plantations, assembled in Boston, whether they should choose the assistants and these elect the Governor and his deputy, and the whole body so chosen should make the laws and have them executed. The legislative record of this matter says, "this was fully assented vnto by the generall vote of the people and ereccon of hands." There was another practice, called in our time "polling the house," or having voters for opposite candidates collected by themselves. A General Court, of 1631, agreed, that when the freemen proposed assistants, and "it be doubtfull whether it be the greater parte of the commons or not, it shall be putt to the poll." As attacks were apprehended from unfriendly Indians, the General Court of 1636, ordered, that part of the freemen, in towns at some distance, should be excused from coming to the seat of government and taking part there in the choice of magistrates. That those who should so stay at home to protect their settlements, might not lose their share of influence in the higher branches of the legislature, they were permitted to exercise it by proxy. They met in Salem, as well as elsewhere, gave in their votes, which the deputies had sealed up, carried to the legislature and there counted. In 1643, the material, with which they so expressed their opinion, was denoted in what follows. It was ordered by General Court, that "if any freeman shall put in more than one paper or beane, for the choyce of any officer, hee shall forfeit £10 for every offence." This phrase-

ology intimates, that the ballots, here mentioned, had been in common use. In 1647, it was required by the legislature, that the Governor, his Deputy, Treasurer, Secretary and Commissioners of the United Colonies, should be voted for by electors, who staid at home, with papers, and the assistants, with "beanes, onely the white to be for election." The last clause suggests, that colored beans were cast for the negative. Our Colonial authorities, in 1680, made a law, that while the former class of officers were to be chosen as before, the latter should be with "Indian corn." The language of such enactment utters not a syllable about beans, and thus implies that they had been dispensed with in the election of assistants. These facts distinctly show, that the latter magistrates were set apart to their station at one period with bean votes and at another subsequently by those of corn. When however we depart from the original records and consult our printed laws of former ages, we there read a different version. Such enactments inform us, that in all three of the last years named, corn and beans were thrown as proxies, the former affirmative and the latter negative. How such discrepancy took place, is difficult to be explained at this late day. In a dilemma of this kind, the judgment naturally leans on the manuscript evidence, as the stronger authority. It is likely that corn proxies for assistants were used to the Usurpation of 1686. While our townsmen gave them for such a purpose, and paper ones for another, as previously described, it is probable that they used the latter sort as well as raised the hand, or, on occasions of excitement, polled the assembly, in all

other voting respects. As one exception to this, they resolved, 1776, when great care was needed in the selection of Representatives to the General Court, to have them chosen with differently colored balls. It seems that there was a speedy reversion to the old forms. These, however liable to abuse like everything human, have come down to our times, approved by experience as the most convenient for large assemblies.

*Orders about Voting.*—These were adopted by our legislative authorities. One of 1670, ran thus: "If any man shall behave himself offensively at any town meeting, the rest then present, shall have power to sentence him for such offence so as the penalty exceed not 20<sup>s</sup>." Another of 1680, that, as a resident of Salem had manifested a factious and litigious spirit, he should be debarred from giving his vote in town affairs, as well as from holding any office, and from bringing any case before judicial tribunals.

#### MUNICIPAL REGULATIONS.

*Strangers.*—Perceiving that this Colony was in peril, as to its social and religious interests, by the intrusion of troublesome strangers, the General Court ordered, in 1637, that none from abroad should be allowed to reside in any town, except by leave from "one of the counsell or of two of the magistrates." The fine of disobedience to this law, was £100. Our Selectmen cautioned the people here, 1657, to comply with such an act, on the penalty of 20<sup>s</sup> a week, during its violation. With respect to this subject, as one of long standing, Palsgrave gives us the subsequent in-

formation. Among the Salick Franks, "a villa was entirely the property of the inhabitants, and no stranger could settle within its boundaries unless with the consent of the whole corporation. If a stranger remained in the township without challenge, during twelve months, he was thenceforth allowed to dwell in peace and security, like the other neighbors of the community." These two principles of habitation were recognized in the polity of our New England towns, and were more strictly observed in ancient times, than they have been since. The authorities of Salem were called to act on them at different periods. Benjamin Balch and Henry Herrick were fined here, in 1660, for entertaining a stranger. Nicholas Dreckan, who was the occasion of such forfeit to the latter, was immediately after received as an inhabitant. Samuel Robinson and Samuel Shadocke were amerced, 1669, 20<sup>s</sup> apiece, for "entertayninge of Thomas Maule." The last person, being a Quaker, was warned to depart. But he persevered then and subsequently, amid much opposition, in retaining an abode here. William Trask was required to send John Turland out of town, and give security that he be no charge to our corporation. For enforcing the law on this subject, Thomas Oliver was instructed, 1670, "to goe from house to house aboute the towne, once a moneth, to inquire what strangers are come, or haue priuily thrust themselues into towne and to giue notice to the Selectmen in beinge, from tyme to tyme, and he shall haue the fines for his paynes or such reasonable satisfaction as is meet." Francis Skerry and William Lake were fined for non-compliance with such an order.

General Court, in 1673, require that the inhabitants of Salem as well as of Boston, Charlestown and Portsmouth, shall not entertain strangers, except by leave of the Governor or his Deputy, or two magistrates. The same year, our town records have the following entry. "Expenses for the French women brought into town by Mr. Pipon in his ship." The female, named in the subsequent extract from the same book, was probably one of these strangers. "Samuel Williams doth acknowledge Rebecca Outen to be his servant for one whole yeare, and the Selectmen doe settle her with him, as a servant for that time, and hee to find her with things needfull for such a servant." Owing to the perils of war in Maine, a number of families who had lived there, fled hither. Our record of 1676, concerning them, says, they "being driven from their habitations by the barbarous heathen, are added as inhabitants of the town, most of them affirming they have provision for themselves and families a year." In 1679, the ship Hannah and Elizabeth, Capt. Lot Gouding, arrived here from Dartmouth with 47 passengers, among whom was Doctor Barton. Several of our people were summoned, this year, to answer the charge for permitting non-residents to abide in their houses. Henry West, sen. and John Mascoll, Jr., were empowered, 1693, to inspect the families of Salem and "take an account of all inmates or strangers, that are now in or may hereafter come into the towne and returne their names to the selectmen every moneth, and, if need be, to warne them to depart." In 1695, Clement Goady, a jersyman, who had served six years in this place, but had

been gone over the two last years, was warned away. Such notices were frequent for 25 years from this time. It was ordered, in 1721, that as "there are many families of the Irish people, that were affrighted from their new settlements in the Eastern parts, come into this town, that their circumstances be inquired into and how many persons of them there are and whether they intend to remove hence or not." In 1729, Capt. William Cash brought into this port, from Ireland, 161 passengers. According to law, he furnished the Selectmen with a list of their names and circumstances. An order, relative to them, says, "many of them, being men with their wives and children and under good circumstances and others of them, able bodied men and women and indented servants and of good report, and because there is one or two on board sick, the well have liberty to go on shore at Winter Island and the Fort and cleanse themselves." Capt. Cash and Robert Boyce, the merchant, gave bonds of £500 to our Town Treasurer, for any charges, which might arise from 19 of the passengers, who were not exempts by law. Similar precaution was continued. As in 1790 and 1791, there were several hundreds of people in Salem, both white and colored, not regular inhabitants, they were warned to depart. However such messages may have appeared to wear a deep scowl, and sometimes affronted a new comer of honest purpose and thrifty habits, but not acquainted with their design, yet their necessity to prevent an undue imposition of expense in the support of paupers, needs no explanation. Being a matter, which not merely affects our monied relations,



but, also, our political and moral institutions, it has received diversified attention from our legislative authorities. To conform with their act of 1837, two of our Aldermen were then appointed to see that its provisions were not violated.

1635. *Orders*.—"All orders, as the towne shall think meet to be published, shalbe published one the next lecture day after the towne meeting."

1637. "Ordered that all the land along the shore on Darby's fort side vp to the hog-sties, and to run 20 poles into the land, shall be reserved for the common of the towne to serve for wood and timber."

"Whereas diuers orders are made and agreed on by the inhabitants of the towne of Salem, for the better fulfilment of resolves and for want of a *print howse*, or some other meanes whereby to publish them, not only to the present inhabitants but to others, that may hereafter set downe amongst vs,—these are therefore to certifie all, whom it may concerne, and for his avoyding of the breach of any of the said orders and consequently the penalties of them, that they repaire to Mr. Ralph Fogg, who keepes the records of said orders, where they may satisfie themselves in every particular order as aforesaid." This shows a great difference between the means then and since we have had our "*print howses*," of acquaintance with such bye laws.

Mr. Fogg is to have for entering grants of land, 9<sup>d</sup> for 20, 12<sup>d</sup> for 30, 15<sup>d</sup> for 40, and 18<sup>d</sup> for 50 acres and upwards. He is to have 2<sup>d</sup> for each warrant to lay out land.

1647. Ordered, "that William Auger shall take

notice of births and deaths and marriages." This conformed with the law of 1639.

1666. Required that all wells, between Thomas Cromwell and Richard Gardner's to the head of Mr. Brown's cove, be repaired and secured against danger, by raising them  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 feet above ground with curbs or hogsheads, or else be filled up.

1762. Bat and foot ball, throwing snow balls and stones, in public places, are forbidden. Such injunctions have been repeated at various periods. Every violation of them, as to casting snow balls in anger, brick bats and stones, was, in 1824, to be fined \$1. This is wholesome policy. For a long series of years, boys, in different divisions of the town, and particularly those of the east and west, had arrayed themselves, in winter, against each other and frequently with dangerous missiles and exasperated feeling. Each of the sides engaged in these perilous affrays for no higher prize, than to have it thought and said, that they gained the mastery. Seldom could a boy, who had distinguished himself on such occasions, venture into the lines of his opponents, without receiving abuse and blows. Thus early alienation was cherished between "up-in-towners and down-towners," which, for the most part, was continued in manhood. In this manner, a wound was inflicted on the spirit of harmony, which should be constantly encouraged among the young as well as old, of the whole community. Whatever boys think of such restriction on what they wrongly call liberty, men judge aright and come up to the claims of society upon them, when they put a stop to all these breaches of the peace, these facilities

of indulging the passions of hatred, cruelty and discord. However collisions of this kind may be said to discipline the lad for bold daring and brave exploits against invading foes, traits, which may be cultivated in other proper exercises, still their damage to pure morals and social welfare, far outweighs all their imaginary benefit.

The three first pastimes, which stand at the head of the preceding paragraph, remind us of additional ones with hand and foot balls, as well as of others, which have been practiced, in ancient and modern times, by our Salem boys. It may be for the satisfaction of our juvenile friends hereafter, to have a passing notice of most among the latter class. For them and all else, whom it may please, the succeeding brief is given. Beating the hoop, blind man's buff, bow and arrow, cricket, dropping the handkerchief, duck, flying the kite, French and English, hide and seek, hop frog, hunting the slipper, king of the castle, jumping, jumping the rope, leaping, leap frog, and marbles. With regard to the last, though the advice has been given so often as to seem needless, boys should be cautioned against playing with them in order to win from each other. If they indulge in this lighter species of gaming, they are likely to do the same with "props" or "paw-paws," "coppers" or cents, dice and cards. A small leak, unchecked, may prove a large one and sink many a valuable ship. As to the two last implements of diversion, our Court of Assistants, in 1631, ordered them to be destroyed, and, 1645, ordered the keeper of a tavern to be fined for having a shuffle or shovel board. In resuming

our list, we come to puss in the corner, quoits, sliding with sleds, skating, sling, thieves and robbers, swimming, spinning top, threading the needle, touch or tag, walking on stilts and wrestling. As for the rest of such amusements, too great care should be taken not to engage in any of them, like that of ponds or forfeits as generally played, which tend to debase moral feeling and yield naught but discontent in reflection. With regard to in-door amusements, as checkers, fox and geese, morrice and back gammon, they are useful to quicken the memory and invention while kept from the abuse of staking on the issue. A habit of such perversion cannot be too soon resisted.

1793. Truckmen and bakers were forbidden to drive rapidly through the streets. By authority of the Quarterly Court, as long ago as 1672, horse racing and riding fast to and from worship, were prohibited.

1801. The long repeated nuisance of comparatively few persons and particularly youngsters, standing at corners of streets, sitting on steps of houses, gathering at places of worship on Sabbath evening, whose appearance, speech and action are an outrage on decency,—was renewedly interdicted. Scarcely a habit among the class, who thus debase themselves in their own consciousness and in the eyes of all, who observe them, tends more to weaken the common respect for good manners, and to cast reproach on the society, which shields their rights and interests. Public vigilance cannot be too prompt and active in staying every such spot of leprosy on the body politic.

1819. In imitation of former and repeated example, the constables were ordered to patrol the streets

on the Sabbath, from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M. Their special duty then, was to hinder assemblages of boys and young men at corners of streets and other places ; their sea bathing and other accounted disorders.

1839. Passing from what affects character, we come to a matter of public comfort. It was ordered, that the machine for watering the streets be under the direction of the street committee. This item is adduced, partly, as a specimen, that economy now allows conveniences, to which it would once have given no quarter.

#### FIRE DEPARTMENT.

A comparative view of this department, shows that its improvement has kept pace with the progress of social arts. As a means of extinguishing fire, it was ordered, 1644, that each of our inhabitants be supplied with a ladder on penalty of 5<sup>s</sup>.

1663. Chimnies were ordered to be swept once a month from October to April, and once in two months the rest of the year, on penalty of 12<sup>d</sup> for each neglect. If a chimney should burn out of the top, through an omission of the rule, 10<sup>s</sup> were to be paid. John Milke was appointed the sweeper. He was to have 4<sup>d</sup> a chimney, if in money, wheat or butter, but if in other pay, 6<sup>d</sup>. Any might clean their own chimnies, or hire it done by whom they pleased.

1679. The selectmen and two others were authorized to take the command at fires, to blow up and pull down buildings, as need may require. This appears to have been much more common before the use of fire engines than subsequently. Hooks and other

instruments for such a purpose, with two or three dozen cedar buckets were to be purchased.

1689. Smiths' shops, inside of town bridge, and dwelling houses, within ten poles of each other, are to have chimnies of sufficient material and height.

1729. Besides buckets, hooks and poles, two ladders were kept in the town house.

1744. A fire club was formed here. Its number was 28 and not to exceed 30. One of its articles was, "we will have a watchword, whereby to know one another; every member to whisper it to the Clerk at each quarterly meeting, and to any other member, when challenged, on penalty of 1<sup>s</sup> o. t." A law was passed by General Court empowering towns to choose firewardens. Each of them was to have "for a distinguishing badge of office, a staff of five feet long, painted red and headed with a bright brass spire, six inches long."

1749. On petition of Capt. Richard Derby and others, they were to be excused from all town offices as soon as they should purchase a good fire engine. If any of the members should move away or die, and leave sons, these might be their successors in the company. The engine was approved by the selectmen next year. It still remained the property of its purchasers. Its shares were sometimes sold. Though almost a centenarian and laid aside for newer ones, it is still carefully preserved, and highly appreciated, as an old servant, which has done much good in its day. Whether our townsmen had any engine, on a simpler model, than this, first mentioned on our records, is unknown. There were two of the former kind in Boston prior to 1711.



1751. Another engine, having been bought by Benjamin Lynde and others, was accepted. It was larger than the preceding. As two novel objects of public attention, they went by the names of "the small" and "the great" engines.

1753. There were five fire wardens. Their duty had been done by the selectmen and others united with them.

1754. The engine men had an additional privilege of being excused from juries.

1767. The town sent to London, through Benjamin Pickman, for an engine, which cost them £73 4<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>. The company, approved for it, were Clark, Gayton, Pickman and fifteen others. It was voted to have buildings made for the engines. One by the Court house, another near Nathaniel Andrews', and a third on land of Edward Kitchen, deceased.

1771. Among the requests of the firewards was that women and young children would stay at home, when there was a fire. Sympathy for the distressed as well as curiosity to witness a scene, uncommon for small towns, must have been the occasion for so plain, but still expedient advice.

1772. After several efforts to have cisterns made at the public charge, one was finished in School street.

1773. As a preventive of fires, Benjamin Peirce Beech was appointed sweeper of chimnies. His fees were 1/2 for a chimney in each house of three stories, crowned roof, and 1<sup>s</sup> for it in the same with flat roof; 10<sup>d</sup> for it of two stories, crowned roof, and 8<sup>d</sup> flat roof, and for chimnies of other houses, 8<sup>d</sup> apiece. In 1813,

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the price for such work was 50 cts. for three, 40 for two and 30 for one story chimnies.

1774. An order to pay for axe helves and fire fork handles. A vote passed to procure another engine. Among several things recommended by a committee soon after a great fire, we have the following. "Each engine be furnished with a framed canvas screen in three or four leaves about eight feet high and a handy mop to each screen." Every owner of a house should provide himself with one or more leather buckets. On cry of fire, in cloudy nights, the people should put lights in their windows. Boys should be so placed in lanes by the fire wards, as to hand only empty buckets. "That the inhabitants ought to attend, as often as possible, at the monthly working the engines with their buckets, to learn to form lanes and work the engines." The time for this "to be at the breaking up the schools." These suggestions were accepted. The most of them were long continued. The exercise of an engine company in former years, drew together a great concourse of people. Of these a large and the merrier part were boys, released from their afternoon instruction. The idea, that the exhibition waited for them by public authority, aided to render them very punctual and happy attendants.

1786. The selectmen were authorized to purchase an engine. The managers of fire hooks, axes and buckets to be exempted, from civil duties, like engine-men. A committee were appointed to sink needed cisterns.

1788. One of the engines was named the Gloucester and another No. 1030.

1789. An agreement was made with William Stearns and others, that they pay for half the cost of a new well and pump, near George Osborn's fence.

1793. A cistern was made on the south western part of the Mall.

1794. The selectmen were empowered to buy a new engine.

1797. Benjamin Goodhue, a member of Congress, purchased one in Philadelphia, for Salem. Timothy Pickering superintended its erection. The manufacturer of it was Samuel Briggs, a Quaker. It was so injured, on its passage hither, that it would not work. The maker sent on an agent to see it repaired. Names and locations of engines in this town, were as follow. The Union, of small size, N. of the Court house; Salem, on the Common; Reliance, made in Philadelphia, near head of Long Wharf; Friend, near Bullum's corner; Essex, N. of Court-house; Federal, near the Episcopal church; Exchange, now, in Essex street, near Mrs. Rebecca Cabot's; the four last were imported from London; and the Alert, old, in Washington street, near Mr. John Daland's store. To prevent one occasion of fires, the selectmen forbade the smoking of segars in the streets. A similar prohibition was issued, in 1812, setting the fine, for each offence, at \$3. Some of our earliest colonial laws were against the use of tobacco in any place or manner. It has long triumphed over the natural repugnance of human taste, over many resolutions to deny its created appetite, over the frequent protestations of cleanness, over the strong appeals of injured health, and over the positive laws of community. It has imposed an iron

servitude on multitudes, who would suffer no man to deprive them of liberty. Without interfering with its private use, the authorities of this and other places, are often constrained to raise their voice against its being smoked in our streets, lest it kindle a conflagration to sweep away the habitations of our citizens. What more reasonable requisition! No one should be so reckless as to "take an enemy into his mouth to steal away" his reputation for order, and rob others of their property.

A condition of the town's permission for an Aqueduct, was, that a conductor should run from it to the cistern at Buffum's corner, to be used if needed in fires.

1798. Contracts were proposed to sink eight cisterns. The places reported for them, were Court, Essex, Derby, Neptune, Market, Mill, Boston and Federal streets. It was ordered, that if an engine did not appear at a fire, its company should be fined \$2.

1800. A question came before the town for having houses and stores built with brick, as a preventive of fires. It was decided in the negative. Time will show, though we earnestly wish that the demonstration by flame may never come, whether this decision should not have been entirely the reverse.

1804. The report for a cistern in High street, was accepted; 1806, \$400 were allowed for another on Mill hill; 1817, voted to have one near the corner of Liberty street, and, 1823, another in North Salem.

1824. Voted to supply the section, last named, with an engine, and, 1825, to buy another instead of the ancient Alert. Thus an old acquaintance of many a school boy, whose daily track was along by its

lodgement, who once delighted to see it equipped for trial, and to race through its monthly sprinklings, and whose bright locks had grown grey in the period of its services, was laid aside, as no longer fit to arrest the threatening conflagration.

1826. The first congregation were granted the use of the land, on which the tenement of the Alert stood, if they allowed room, for similar occupancy, in the west porch of their new meeting house. This place, being inconveniently small, was relinquished in a year or two, and another substituted.

1833. A cistern, with two pumps, was ordered for English street.

1835. An engine to be made for No. 9 company, and located in Bridge street.

1836. Voted to have a well in Creek street.

1837. The town agreed to have the Daland well, in the rear of house No. 2, Chestnut street, cleared out and furnished with two pumps, if its owners give up all control over them.

1838. It was ordered, that a cistern, partly dug in Broad street, be filled, and a substitute for it made at the junction of Green and Pickering streets.

1839. It was agreed to have a cistern prepared for Marlborough street, in the place of one relinquished to accommodate the railroad. Little was it expected when this fountain was opened and fitted for use, that locomotives, like some monstrous leviathan, would sweep over the bed of its waters, and pour out fire and smoke, instead of the element designed to subdue them. A cistern was ordered for Park street in South Salem, and another near the first church, in lieu of

"the old town pump," which Mr. Hawthorn, one of our city's gifted sons, has given a prominent place among his eloquent and impressive tales.

1841. It was voted, that Forrester street should be supplied with a cistern.

1842. The fire clubs here were as follow : Active, Adroit, Boston street, Enterprise, Naumkeag, Relief and Social.

After thus coursing over diversified facts of our Fire Department, we perceive a marked difference between its present and ancient condition. In 1843, there were 20 public cisterns with two pumps, and 8, with one pump; nine operative engines, with as many houses and suitable apparatus; and 350 men, attached to the hose, hook and ladder, engine, and three sail companies. These associations do not include axemen, as a distinct body and as they formerly did. Still two axes are attached to each engine to be used by any of its company when needed, and, the hook and ladder company, also, have axes. With regard to the sails, used at fires here, they have been found, by our inhabitants, for a long period, to be excellent means, when thoroughly wet, to prevent the spread of flames. It is singular, that there is no company, in the metropolis, to carry them to their fires, nor in any other place, known to the writer. The expenses of the fire department, for a year, to the spring of 1843, were \$1,481 38, a sum judiciously appropriated and economically expended. This accords with the truth, more allowed, in various respects, than practised, that it is better wisdom to prevent evil, than to amend it, with increased charge, after its occurrence.



## FIRES.

Among the calamities, which forcibly teach the insecurity of earthly possessions, and which strike terror through the heart of man, are the conflagrations, that often threaten communities and sometimes spread desolation through them. This is far more so in those sections of the world, where the training of firemen and the improvements of their machinery are much in the rear of such advancement, as many of our principal places may justly claim. Our means of information on the subject of fires in this city, prior to our regular files of newspapers, preserved by a few careful hands, who thus conferred great benefit on their successors, are very limited. A list of these events, so far as known, here follows. It may be understood, that where naught is said to the contrary, the buildings were entirely consumed.

1634. Mr. Cradock's house at Marblehead about midnight. Mr. Allerton and many fishermen, whom he employed, were in it, but were saved with most of his goods. A taylor, who worked late that night, looked out and saw the building on fire "above the oven in the thatch."

1636, Oct. John Jackson's house with considerable property.

1641. "Mr. Humphroy suffered much by fire at Salem."

1645, April. A farm house of Emanuel Downing, then in England. Loss £200.

1647, June. A barn with corn and hay. It was caught by lightning. This "fell upon the thatch in the breadth of a sheet."

1666, Sept. 10. A house, owned by Capt. Thomas Savage. A woman, who set fire to it, was sent to Boston jail for trial.

1698, June 28. At 9 P. M., a fire was discovered. A ware house of Mr. Lindall. The dwellings of majors Pilgrim, Hurst, William Brown and Mr. Samuel Prince. One of Eli Hathorne was blown up to arrest the flames. Damages £5,000, of which major Brown owned £3,000. The premises of these buildings, were partly covered by Essex Coffee house. This was called the great fire till that in 1774.

1714. Among claims for common land, this year, Thomas Maul presented one for a place, where his two shops were burnt.

1737, Sept. 3. At 5 in the morning, fire in Britton's hatter shop. Most of the hats and furs saved. Loss about £100.

1774, Aug. 24. Alarm 2 A. M., five shops and a ware house below the town house, then on Essex street. Loss 7 or £800.

1774, Oct. 6. Rev. Dr. Whitaker's meeting house, custom house, eight dwellings, fourteen stores, shops and barns, besides sheds and other out houses. The town house caught but was saved. An aged lady, mother of Mr. Samuel Field, while attempting to escape from her residence, struck her head, fell and was burnt to death. This was the greatest fire, with which Salem was ever before afflicted. As usual with communities, suspension from such a trial, had induced our townsmen to be slack in discipline and deficient in implements, required for the emergency. Its occurrence waked their vigilance, consultation and

action. It led them to adopt rules and make provision, so that they might be better prepared to encounter a like event. Grateful for the seasonable aid, afforded them by adjacent inhabitants, they voted, 10th, that their thanks "be given to our brethren from the neighbouring towns for their kind assistance at the late distressing fire; and that the most grateful returns are due to our brethren from Marblehead, by whose timely arrival with their engine and vigorous exertions a great part of this town was rescued from devouring flames." The following minute, from our records, shows, that while hospitality was extended to benefactors, the lessons of temperance were little studied. "Allowed Jonathan Webb an order for £3 19<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>, for 132 breakfasts, 3 gallons of W. I. Rum and 3 gallons of Gin, for the Marblehead people, who assisted us at the great fire."

1795, March 30. Early in the morning, Mr. Dunlap's barn in Hardy street.

The Gazette of Tuesday, Sept. 8, says, "last Monday" there were repeated alarms. At 3 A. M., one in the hay loft of the Sun Tavern, not much damage. At night, a barn of Thomas Brooks, on Palfray's wharf, with four horses consumed. The same paper mentions a fire, which broke out lately in the barn of Capt. John Derby, "near the barn burnt last week."

1795, Sept. 18. In the night, an attempt to burn a building of Mr. J. Dunlap, who had recently suffered from a like cause. A malicious lad was suspected of it and committed to the Alms house. The fires of this year were supposed to have been the work of incendiaries.

1798, Jan. 31. Afternoon, the Grammar school chamber in centre school house, was destroyed. Much damage done to the books of the library, kept in an adjoining room. The cause of it was the anxiety of a boy, who was sweeping the floor, to destroy a rat, which he saw run to its hole, by throwing a live coal down its hiding place. No doubt, this was undivided attention to one object without a thought for consequences.

Feb. 5. Monday morning, the ship Aurora was seen on fire. She was owned by William Gray, anchored in the harbor and partly laden with valuable merchandize for Europe. A considerable company of men put off in boats, accompanied with an engine, and saved her without much loss. Mr. Duncan, a ship keeper, who had lost an arm, was burnt to death in the cabin, where the fire commenced.

April 4. In the morning, Nehemiah Adams' cabinet shop, with all its stock and tools, in Newbury street.

May 10. At 6 P. M., an apartment connected with Mrs. Elizabeth Orne's house, Essex street, was discovered to be on fire, but soon extinguished.

1799, July 13. In the morning, an alarm, that the warehouse of Elias H. Derby, on his wharf, was afire. No great injury was done to it or its contents. Supposed to have been caught by a lighted segar.

Oct. 2. At 9 evening, shop of Mr. Jefferds, brass founder, was seen in flames. It was partially saved.

Nov. 4. About dark, Capt. Peter Lander's barn and Mr. Chadwick's barn, filled with hay, and near each other, on Essex street.

1800, Sept. 27. A schooner at Union wharf, Capt. Silver, ready to sail for Alexandria, took fire. Caused by the unheading of a barrel of rum and its running on some casks of lime, which ignited. Cargo much injured.

1801, Jan. 24. A part of William Carlton's house, occupied for printing, caught fire, but was extinguished with little damage. The next night an attempt was made to burn the shop of Jonathan Archer, which succeeded only to a small extent.

1802, March 27. In the evening, a smith's shop, opposite Creek Court, was discovered on fire; but it was soon put out. While the people were returning from this, there was an alarm from the Alms house. Two buildings which were connected with this establishment, and contained oakum and grain, were consumed. The fire was kindled by a colored boy about 11 years old.

April 13. In the evening, a house, inhabited by colored people, at the bottom of St. Peter's street. A woman perished in the flames.

15th. About 10 A. M., Josiah Woodbury's house, in River street, caught fire, but was extinguished, with considerable damage.

1804, June 13. In the afternoon, a shop in Water street, owned by Mr. Dow and occupied by Mr. Hook, a cabinet maker. The stock and tools of the latter destroyed.

During this year, the first office in Salem, for insurance against fire, was established here.

1805, Sept. 8. On Sunday night, a Twine Factory, carried on by Mr. Fisher, owned by the widow of

Capt. Daniel Rust, and situated back from County street. The deed of an incendiary.

1806, Jan. 16. In the evening, three houses of Joseph Edwards, Mr. Chaplin and Deacon Lamson, in Carpenter street. They were all three stories high. Caught, in the first, among shavings.

28th. Early in the morning, a building, occupied by Messrs. Cushings, for a book bindery and printing office, on Essex street.

March 10. While the workmen were at dinner, a cabinet maker's shop of Nehemiah Adams, near the Mall, took fire and was much injured.

1809, Oct. 6. A shop of the same person just named, was nearly consumed.

1811, June 21. Near midnight, Foye & Tuttle's rope walk, in eastern part of the town, with a large amount of stock.

1812, May 26. In the morning, the corn mill on South river. The family there scarcely escaped with their lives.

1813, Jan. 26. In the evening, the tobacconist shop of Niles Tilden, English goods store of Mr. Convers, a grocery of Mr. Goodhue, and a barber's shop of Mr. Mottey.

1813, July 24. Near midnight, Thomas R. Williams' cabinet maker's shop, in Williams street.

Dec. 1. At 10 P. M., a currier's shop of Benjamin Cheever, Boston street, with its contents. Loss above \$4,000.

1814, Sept. 24. About 3 A. M., a barn in Mill street. Supposed by design.

1815, Aug. 6. On Sunday, A. M., divine service



was interrupted by an alarm, because Jerathmel Peirce's house in Federal street and two others near it had their roofs on fire from a chimney in the first one. Though the peril was great from a high wind, the flames were extinguished with but little damage.

Dec. 20. About midnight, a brick store occupied by Hinman & Stodder for the sale of crockery and dry goods, next door east of Essex Coffee house, was consumed, except the walls, with its contents. Loss about \$8,000. Other stores in the same block, separated by brick walls, were not injured by the fire, though the owners of goods, taken out for safety, suffered by theft. Such preservation proved the superiority of brick over wood, especially in buildings for merchandize.

1816, Aug. 22. At 4 A. M., a fire broke out at the corner of Liberty and Water streets. Eleven buildings were destroyed on the east side of the former street, as follow. One dwelling house, three stories, of the Salem Bank; one of E. & J. Norris, with a Distill house and store of theirs, containing much property; two of Mr. Ball, one used, in part, for a bakery, with a barn and store, which, also, belonged to him; one of Nathan Peirce; one tenanted by a Stanley family, and a barn of Stephen Philips. Another barn of William Procter, was pulled down. Two houses of Samuel Buffum, on the same side, were greatly injured. On the west side of Liberty street, four buildings were destroyed. Namely, a dwelling house and shop of Messrs. Sauls & Martin; one of Josiah Parsons, part of which was a store, and a shop

owned by him and Jonathan Neal, the chambers occupied as a rigging loft by Thomas Farless and the cellar with several hundred barrels of tar, which made a great flame. On Vine street, a shoe maker's shop of Samuel Gray was pulled down and a dry goods store of John Scobie nearly so. Thus were sixteen buildings destroyed and three much damaged. This was the greatest conflagration, except that of 1774, ever experienced by the people of Salem. It still leaves that to be chronicled, in our calamitous history, as "the great fire." May no sad reality ever give occasion for the change of such a comparison.

1817, Jan. 29. In the forenoon, the upper part of a school house, near the first Baptist meeting house, was considerably injured. The next evening, a mechanic's shop, at the bottom of Market street, was some damaged.

April 11. At noon, the house of Dr. B. L. Oliver, at the corner of Essex and Liberty streets, received some injury. The next evening, Col. Hawthorne's barn in North field was consumed. It took fire from burning wood wax.

1818, Feb. 2. In the morning, through a defect in the chimney, Rev. Thomas Carlisle's house, in Barton Square, was some damaged and his furniture, by being moved, much more so.

1819, Jan. 3. Sabbath morning, a house at the corner of Summer and Essex streets, was some injured. Caught from ashes in a wooden vessel. Nearly at the same hour, a currier's shop of Capt. Hawes, in Boston street, was slightly burnt.

25th. The South mills were set on fire, by a colored boy, but were soon extinguished.

June 30. A small building, back of the court house, occupied by colored people, much burnt.

1820, Feb. 1. In the night, a brewery of James Stearns, in the rear of Boston street, received some damage.

1821, Jan. 21. Afternoon, a store, kept by Mr. Norris, at head of Union wharf, was some burnt.

28th. In evening, the chair maker's shop of Mr. Ames, Essex street, caught fire, but was speedily put out.

June 23. A parcel of lumber, owned by Messrs. Burrill & Robbins, in Water street, was kindled by a cigar's being thrown there, but was soon extinguished.

Oct. 4. Afternoon, house of widow Whittemore, in Bridge street, took fire, but it was soon put out.

1822, Jan. 16. Between 1 and 2 A. M., a flame burst through the side of Nathaniel West's house. It was speedily extinguished.

1823, March 12. The cooper's shop of Mr. West, on Winn & Whittredge's wharf, was damaged, in the afternoon, by sparks from a chimney.

April 6. At 11 A. M., a dwelling house of Mrs. Hilliard was much injured.

24th. At 8 P. M., another, owned by John Howard, in Brown street, was some damaged.

1824, Aug. 10. In the morning, a store on Derby wharf, supposed by lightning, Much of the merchandize in it, was saved.

1825, Jan. 18. About midnight, a dwelling house of James Bott, Essex street, was badly burned.

March 26. A store of Robert Cogswell, in Franklin building, some damaged.

Nov. 22. Cooper's shop, occupied by Benjamin Gardner, on Orne's wharf, owned by Savary & Raymond. Loss \$500.

1826, June 14. At half past 1 P. M., a building at the lead factory in South Fields.

1827, Jan. 14. About 11 A. M., a house of Thomas Hunt, on the old Boston road, was considerably injured.

Nov. 29. At 7 P. M., the house of Ezekiel Savage in Broad street, received some damage.

1828, Feb. 8. Late in the evening, a house, at the head of Crowninshield's wharf, nearly consumed.

1828, Feb. 28. Between 1 and 2 A. M., Horatio Perry's shop, at the head of the same wharf, was some injured.

April 15. Soon after midnight two buildings in rear of the custom house. Supposed work of incendiaries.

1829, April 15. At half past 12, in the night, a store house of the United States.

20th. A sloop at Derby wharf. A building partly burnt.

June 28. A barn of Elijah Sanderson's estate in Federal street.

1830, March 5. A barn of Joseph Frothingham, upper end of Boston street, by an incendiary.

1831, Oct. 11. An eastern schooner laden with lime at Pickering's Point.

1832, March 28. Afternoon, house of Ephraim Emerton, some damaged.

June 18. Small house, near the Turnpike, nearly destroyed.

July 8. In the evening, a twine factory, owned by Joseph Fisher, and occupied by Thomas W. Gwinn, with a house of the former, another house of Dixey Morgan, and a barn, adjacent to the Pratt house. Several other buildings were much injured. Loss about \$4,000. The usual disposition of some animals, on such occasions, was exhibited. A horse taken from the burning barn, was kept from going in again by main force. A hog, driven out, rushed back and perished. No insurance.

Oct. 28. A building, attached to Joseph Lovejoy's stable, in St. Peter's street, while in flames, was pulled down.

Dec. 7. Interior of a brick building, occupied by soap and candle makers, Rugg & Hildreth, in Boston street, was destroyed in the forenoon. Much of the stock and tools was lost. Insured.

13th. Office and stable of Mr. McMullen on Hawkes' wharf. The fire communicated to lumber of Mr. Cushing, which was partly destroyed. This year had an unusual number of fires.

1833, Feb. 7. In the forenoon, store of Isaac Newhall, Essex street, was some injured.

13th. At half past 3 in the morning, a one story house, near Collins' cove, owned by James Dalrymple. Mrs. Nichols, an old lady, the only resident in the building, of 88 years, perished in the flames.

June 6. In the evening, a twine factory of Thomas Gwinn, in March street.

1834, March 12. The chamber of a house, in Wa-

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ter street, owned by Samuel Brooks, was slightly burnt.

Dec. 28. Afternoon, a building attached to the chemical laboratory in North Salem. Another there partly burnt. Loss about \$600.

1835, Sept. 4. About 2 in the morning, a three story dwelling house, owned by Joshua Loring, in Marlborough street. Another, near it and belonging to Jonathan Holman, was nearly destroyed, and the rear of David Pulsifer's house was burnt. The first was partly insured, and so with the others. The loss was not above \$7,000, though the most destructive fire here, for 19 years. An instance of the benefit derived from membership in fire companies, was manifested on this occasion. The house of Mr. Perkins, so associated, was in danger. His brethren of a company, entered his dwelling, carefully moved his furniture, and, when the peril had passed, safely replaced it, even to a bowl of milk, with a silver spoon in it, left there the evening before. This was, indeed, the verification of benevolent pledges.

1836, March 6. An engine house, No. 7, in Boston street, was some burnt.

July 6. On Wednesday night, a barn of Joshua Pope in Boston street, with hay, leather and other commodities. His house was nearly consumed. Suspected to have been done on purpose.

Sept. 24. Nearly 11 o'clock, Sunday night, three houses of Israel Woodbury, and one of Joseph Noble, in Northey street. Another building of the former was injured. Loss \$3,900. Insurance \$2,700. Sails of the sail company were very serviceable in preventing the spread of the flames.



1837, Feb. 4. After 10 Saturday night, a barn of Solomon Varney and another of William F. Nichols, in Boston street.

17th. At 4 P. M., rope walk and spinning house of William Stickney, and a rope walk of Joshua Safford. Loss towards \$30,000. About half insured. Thought to be the deed of an incendiary.

June 3. In the night, a building, at the head of Charles Parker's wharf, took fire from lightning, but was not much burnt.

Aug. 29. At half past 9 P. M., an uninhabited house in South Fields, of Mrs. Wyman.

31st. At half past 10 P. M., two brewery buildings of Mrs. Stearns, in May street.

Sept. 5. A barn with hay, near the upper part of Broad street, which belonged to the lady, last named.

Dec. 22. In the morning, distillery of John Norris, in Water street, took fire by the bursting of a still. Some damaged.

26th. Shortly before 2 in the morning, oil and candle manufactory of Caleb Smith, at the end of Harbor street. Loss \$6,000. Partly insured.

28th. A shed, at the corner of Federal and Beckford streets, was caught by a segar, but soon extinguished.

1838, Jan. 31. In the night, a barn in North Salem.

April 23. A tenement in Church street, partially burnt.

1839, May 9. A house, in County street, injured.

June 16. At 10 A. M., a house of Mr. McCloy was greatly injured, and a shop of William Peele, and Aaron Perkins, was destroyed on Union wharf. Loss about \$700.

July 20.<sup>1</sup> At 2 A. M., the brass foundry of John Waters on North street, estimated at \$800.

Oct. 18. At 9 P. M., a barn with hay, belonging to the estate of J. H. Andrew, on Flint street. Loss about \$500.

1841, Oct. 3. An eastern schooner, at Derby wharf, slightly damaged.

1842, Oct. 19. In the evening, the East India Marine building took fire from the bursting of a camphine lamp, but was soon put out.

Dec. 8. At 2 A. M., a large building, near Frye's mills, attached to the tannery of Elijah A. Hanson. Loss \$2,600.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we have run through with a detail of fires so far as they are known to the writer. There were a few alarms in 1843, and many in some of the preceding years. It is remarkable, that our city, with so large a proportion of wooden buildings, has been no more visited with destructive fires, especially since the crime of arson has fearfully prevailed through our country. But past exemption should neither lead us to forget the source of our protection, nor slack in the accustomed vigilance of this community. The maxim, "fore-warned, fore-armed," is always applicable.

<sup>1</sup> Though this work proceeds no farther than 1843, yet it may be well to notice a fire of Dec. 18, 1844, beginning shortly before 11 at night. Buildings totally destroyed, were seven on Front, four on Lafayette, including a long block of wood tenements, and nine on Fish streets. Over 20 out-buildings were pulled down. Loss \$100,000. A greater sum than ever before known to be lost here on so disastrous an occasion.

## TOWN BELLS AND CLOCKS.

Before our fathers obtained a "church going bell," they were probably summoned together by the sound of a horn, as was anciently the custom. It seems, however, that they were not long without the former means of notice. It was agreed, 1638, that Nathaniel Porter "shall have for the sweepinge of the meeting howse and ringing of the bell, fiftie shillings per annum." The town were rated, 1657, for "a new bell and hanging," £18. This, of course, must have been of moderate size. The bell was rung, 1673, from spring to fall, at 5 o'clock in the morning, and 9 o'clock in the evening, as an admonition to improve the light of day and keep good hours at night. Such an order has been repeated down to our time. In 1685, a new bell is mentioned on our records.

It was ordered, 1695, that one be purchased for the town house.

In 1772, David Northey agreed to take care of the town clock, in the tower of the first church, for £3 10<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> a year.

During the same year, Capt. Stephen Higginson brought home a bell of about 900 lbs. for the North church and another of 590 lbs. for the East church. The latter sold their old bell of 217½ lbs. to Harvard College at 1/6 lb. and it was transported thither.

The next year, a clock, made by Samuel Luscomb, was put in the tower of the East meeting house, and it was kept in repair by the town. The bells of the North and East churches, 1774, were to be rung at 1 o'clock and 9 o'clock P. M. For this service each of

the two sextons, in 1793, had £5 8<sup>s</sup> a year. The clock in the tower of the first church was transferred, 1826, to the tower of the North church. The location of the dial, in this new place, as it was not gifted even so much as Janus with two faces and thus could not show its hands to the four winds, was much faulted by some, from whom it was compelled to look away. Ten years afterwards, the clock was put in the tower of the South church, where it remains.

It will be seen that this notice of our time tellers is confined only to those, in which our corporation had some immediate concern. Others of them have been placed in our sanctuaries as they have arisen from one period to another.

#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

As the style and condition of a community's public edifices, so is their taste appreciated by strangers, who pass through their streets. So far as practicable, in this respect, the general concern should be the private care, that the name of the whole do not suffer. Some of the buildings, now in view, will be noticed here, and others under sections, which relate to their special purpose and use.

#### TOWN HOUSES.

These have accorded with the models, prevalent in the periods of their erection. When the first of them was built here, is unknown. It was probably where the Quarterly Courts began to hold their sessions at Salem, in 1636. If so, the king's arms, as the insignia of royal authority over the commonwealth, were

ordered by our legislature, to be placed there, in the same year, above the seat of justice. It is something more than mere imagination to have a reflective view of this edifice, as presenting an exterior generally similar, in style of architecture, to the Curwen and Bradstreet mansions. Though uncertainty rests on the commencement of such a building, yet fact shows, that it needed repairs in 1655. Its location appears to have been on the west side of Washington street, several rods south of Essex street. From the following of 1674, a new one seems to have been proposed. "Agreed that the town house shall be set up by the prison." Thus was the old place of municipal and judicial assemblages dispensed with, as worn out with diversified service. Within its walls, cases were tried, common in that age, but singular in ours. Here were Baptists and Quakers summoned to answer for absence from worship in the Congregational meeting house. Here wearers of long hair, great boots, large sleeves, lace, silk and tiffany were arraigned. Here scolds and railers were sentenced to wear their tongues in cleft sticks, liable to be gagged or have a threefold ducking, and other transgressors to be fastened in a cage as public spectacles. Here, too, lovers, for shewing signs of the tender passion without precaution in consulting parental authority, were fined according to their adjudged trespasses.

In June of 1677, it was ordered, that the town house be moved near about John Ropes' dwelling. As Joshua Buffum contracted to raise the materials of the former, it must have been taken apart for its situation to be so altered. Then Daniel Andrews was engaged

to build its chimnies, one below and another in the chamber, fill its walls and lath them and lay the underpinning. John Snelling was to shingle and "claboard" it and make the floors, windows and stairs. The latter had £20, one third in money and two thirds in provisions, for doing the carpenter's work. The building, so transferred, stood in the middle of Washington, anciently School street, and in front of the late John Derby's mansion, now owned by Robert Brookhouse, having its front towards Essex street. Its upper part was to be fitted up, 1679, for the accommodation of the Court. The delay about it, from the time it was begun to the last date, was, no doubt, chiefly occasioned by the Indian war and its results by way of exceedingly heavy taxes. A vote passed, 1695, that a turret be made on the town house and a bell purchased and put therein. The year after, in compliance with a petition of our selectmen, the court of sessions decided, that one half of "y<sup>e</sup> reparation of said house be discharged from time to time by y<sup>e</sup> county," and the other by Salem. The rule, so adopted, continued in force over a century. In 1702, it was ordered that the court chamber be repaired "plastered over head and white washed, and the Queen's arms to be procured and handsomely placed over the seat of justice." Thus was Anne honored by our fathers as her royal predecessors were before her reign.

As the chamber of the second town house was too small for the court, our people voted, Feb. 9, 1718-19, to have a new one, 20 feet stud, 30 broad and 40 long, the second story to be for judicial and the lower for municipal concerns. Its cost was £622 6<sup>s</sup>, which



was discharged by the two parties. It was situated on Essex street, next to and westward of the first church. From a subsequent reference, it appears to have been painted, a care, so seldom bestowed in that period, as must have attracted no small degree of notice.

Thus again we are called, in thought, to part with an object, deeply engraved on the mind of those, who beheld it and were sharers in its transactions. Here was anxiously agitated the question of submission to the Commissioners of Charles II. ; of relinquishing our revered charter to the presidents of his successor ; of concerting measures to meet the contingencies of the consequent revolution and of forming a provisional government till the arrival of another charter. Here, too, was the tragic scene, exhibiting innocent victims of delusion, from the child to the aged adult, charged with the crime of witchcraft, and a number of them doomed to suffer the extremities of the law. Seldom can descriptions, either of political or judicial character, be drawn in bolder relief of truth, than those, which veritably apply to this ancient, but departed edifice.

Credible tradition relates that the building, connected with such prominent events, stood over 20 years after its successor was erected. The lower part of it served for a school, while the floor of the old court room above was mostly taken up, except where the seats of the judges and juries were located. Here the boys would sometimes collect, before master came, and play over the scene, once acted there in dread reality, of trying witches. Mr. Northey, afterwards a

teacher here and long since deceased, was a pupil there at that time. He used to state, that, in one instance, while the boys were in grave, judicial conclave, and examining a poor wight, of their companions, who consented to personate a wizard, their teacher, not in his "most blessed humor," appeared suddenly among them, laid on his right and left, exclaiming to the affrighted group, "I'll teach you how to try witches."

The new town and county house continued, for a considerable period, to answer its purposed design. Like its predecessor, it had part of its lower story for a sort of exchange, where men might collect and transact business. It had a long bench in front, which seldom wanted occupants when people were abroad. Here news was related, questions discussed and, not unlikely, scandal retailed. In 1773, Henry Standley had the use of the fodder on the burying point, valued at 48<sup>s</sup> a year, for taking care of the house and ringing its bell for the same period. The next year this building had a very narrow escape in the great fire. After various counter motions and resolves, a final vote was taken, 1785, to have it relinquished and supplied by another.

Could the building, thus laid aside, but relate the scenes, which it witnessed, its story would be of the most thrilling interest. Could its walls present the eloquence, whose sound reverberated against them, it would appear in characters of living light. Here was the Stamp Act, in 1765, held up with all its train of impending evils. Here was justified, in 1766, the address, issued by the Massachusetts house of represen-

tatives to all the colonies so that they might rally their energies and stand in the breach against parliamentary taxation. Here, in 1769, was the wresting away of our trial by jury in the admiralty court, and the imposition of foreign troops on the inhabitants of Boston, manfully discussed as omens of still greater evils. Here, in 1770, did our townsmen resolve, with patriotic self-denial; neither to import nor purchase the goods, subjected to crown duties. Here, in 1774, did the house of representatives appoint the first Continental Congress, and designate our proportion of its delegates for the most efficient resistance to British encroachments. Here did they eloquently portray the wrong of closing the port of Boston and the need of sympathetic aid for the relief of its oppressed population. Here, in order to finish their present strike for liberty, did they keep their chamber door locked against the Secretary, who was ordered by governor Gage to declare their dissolution, and who, unable to gain access, delivered his message in the entry. Here, contrary to the proclamation of the chief magistrate, did they form themselves into a Provincial Congress to regulate the heaving elements of our disorganized Commonwealth, and then adjourned to Concord, where they won imperishable renown.

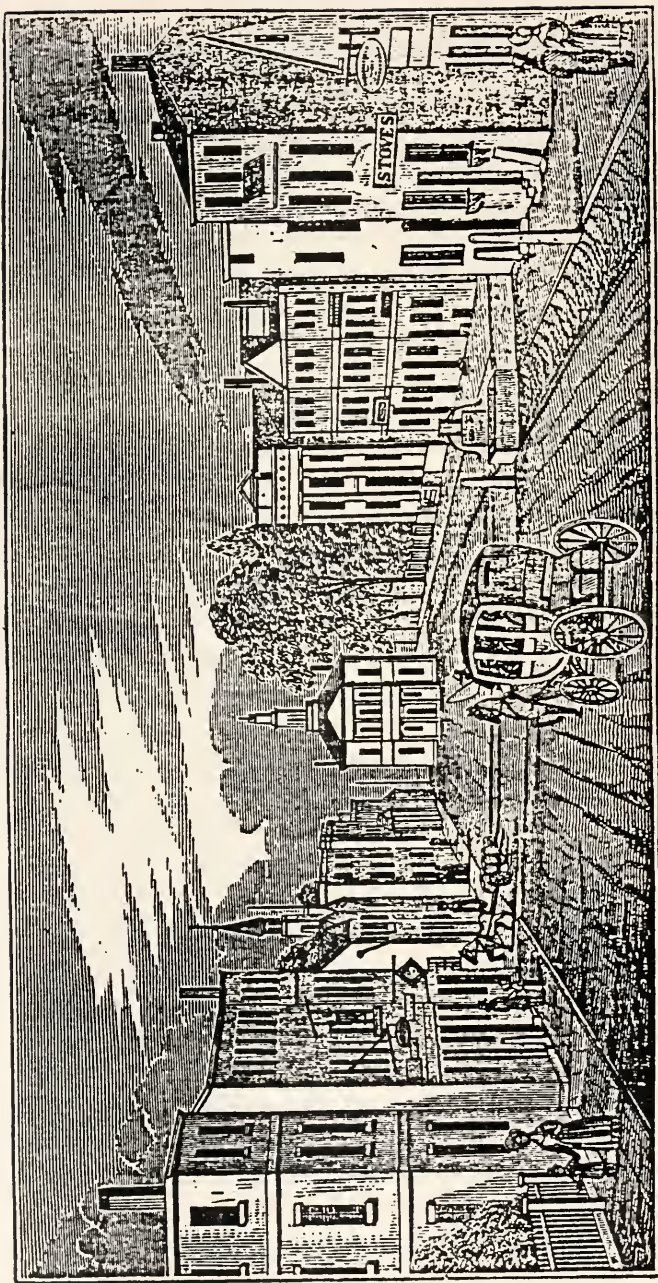
The location of the last town and county house was altered from that of the preceding. For such a change, Elias H. Derby engaged to give the town £100. It was placed on the premises of an old brick school house. For information of those, who come after us, we would state, that it stood in the middle of Washington street, with its west side facing the Tabernacle

church, and its front towards Essex street. It was planned by Samuel McIntire, and built under the direction of Daniel Bancroft, two ingenious architects. It was two stories high, 62 feet long, and 36½ feet broad. It was finished in 1786. Its cost was \$7,145, paid, one moiety by the town and the other by the county. Its walls were of brick and its roof surmounted by a cupola. On the front or southern end of it, was a balustrade, opening into the second story, supported by a row of Tuscan pillars. Under the balustrade were wide stone steps, which could accommodate a large number of persons and which led into a door of the lower hall. On the east side of this hall were several offices and the rest was left open for public assemblies and the exercise of military companies. The part, thus occupied for the last purposes, was too often appropriated by unruly boys to their boisterous sports and destructive propensities, until loud *bulls* of authority sounded in their ears and drove them from the premises. A sketch and description of the building may be found in the Massachusetts Magazine of 1790. This work remarks, "The Court hall is said to be the best constructed room, for the holding of courts, of any in the Commonwealth. In the ceiling is a handsome ventilator. Back of the judge's seat is a venetian blind, highly finished in the Ionic order." Its architecture was prevailingly Grecian; its model and execution were much admired.

Salem, having provided other accommodations in Derby square, disposed of their share in this court house to the county, in 1817, for \$1,823 10, who expended on it, the same year, \$6,071 28, to make the







View of the Court House and Washington Street in 1839.



lower story fire proof for the preservation of judicial papers, and the court room above more commodious. This was a judicious improvement, which had been contemplated for several years. For the demolition of such an edifice and the land it occupied, the railroad corporation allowed \$3,300 to the county.

Before we take our leave of this edifice, around which many agreeable remembrances yet linger, we present a view of it and of the street, at whose head it stood, as they appeared in 1839.

So passed from the immediate concern of our corporation, the court house still stood, as the safe deposit of the county's evidences of its real estate and judicial history, until its subversion, in 1839, to afford room for the railroad. Thus did justice, with her balance, quit the position, which she had long retained and give place to the experiments of science and prudent speculation. Before, however, we once more tenant her, it may be well to state one reminiscence, for which the edifice, so dispensed with, was remarkable. This was the presentation of Washington on its balustrade to a congregated mass in front, when he made his northern tour. Here many a kindling eye first caught the glance of his form, which enshrined those noble excellencies of head and heart, that largely contributed to free our soil from mighty invaders and lay the foundation of our national freedom and fame. To this point were directed the acclamations of thousands, bidding the father of his country the most grateful welcome and bearing above the devoutest aspirations for his highest welfare. Sculpture might group, painting draw and eloquence rehearse

the scene, but it would fall far below the real impression, made on the memory of that great multitude on so sublime an occasion.

Though the substitute for the edifice, thus rendered memorable, all belongs to the county, yet, as a tenant of our soil, it here calls for a passing notice. This, of course, is not needed for those, who have seen it, but for others, who may be as glad to receive particulars of us, as we are from any of our predecessors. The edifice, in view, is made of well wrought granite. Its dimensions are 55 feet broad, and 105 long and two stories high. Its four columns, two at each end, are a species of the Corinthian order. Their flutes and capitals are mostly copied from those in the Tower of Winds, at Athens. Each of them is 3 feet 10 inches in diameter, and 32 feet high, including the base and capital. The land was provided by our city and cost them \$4,000. The first breaking of ground for the work, began July 8, 1839. The building was erected in 1840 and 1841. The cost of it to the county was \$80,000. It was first opened for public use, March 21, 1842, when the Court of Common Pleas convened there and commenced a session. Its architectural correctness and beauty being chiefly Grecian; may be ranked with those of the best edifices in our country. It would have been a worthy specimen of taste even in the age and city of Pericles. May its career of usefulness, in sustaining the rights of the people, the purity of law, morality and religion, "un-awed by influence and unbribed by gain," be as successful, as its design was liberal, its model excellent and its appearance an honor to our own corporation and county.

## TOWN HALL AND MARKET HOUSE.

Having paid our tribute of respect to the pale of the judiciary, which had long been connected with our municipal concerns, we once more return to the line of our town houses. True, what is about to be spoken of, is only, in part, of such a class. Still as no better position for it can be found, it may be presented here. When the separation, just alluded to, was contemplated, our public spirited inhabitants looked around so that the people should not be destitute of a resort for the transaction of their general business. Among our liberal devisers, on this occasion, were Benjamin Pickman Jr., and John Derby. They had recently purchased of their brother, general Elias Hasket Derby, the estate, which had been owned by his father, the noted merchant. One of their propositions in 1816 was, that if the town would erect a suitable building on such premises, in the centre of the spot, which, in the same year, those two gentlemen called Derby square, they would convey to them the fee of sufficient land. This was accepted June 4, and a committee appointed to carry out the plan. Operations began on the site at the end of the same month. An incident of a sympathetic kind occurred while the earth was removing for the foundation... About six feet from the top, a gold mourning ring was found. On the inner surface, it contained the following inscription. "W. B. Esq. ob. 23 Feb. Æ 77." This referred to the former owner of the soil, William Brown of noted and worthy memory.

The lower part of the building was opened as a Market, Nov. 26.

The town hall was first used for the introduction of President Monroe to our principal men, July 8, 1817, and, in the evening, to a crowded assembly of ladies. On this occasion it was tastefully decorated. At the "north end was a chair from Mount Vernon, with the name of Washington inscribed on it," for the use of the President, surrounded with beautiful designs. Portraits of our distinguished countrymen were hung on the walls, lighted by a profusion of lamps of various hues. Out of respect to this distinguished guest, some proposed to have it called Monroe hall, but a preference for the name it bears, prevailed. It was made of brick, two stories high, 40 feet broad and 100 feet long. Its cost was about \$12,000. Though utility was consulted in its construction, yet its model is regular and its appearance very respectable. It was improved for the exercise of military companies and public meetings of the inhabitants, till the organization of the city government. Since, it has been similarly occupied, except that the first ward convene there, on municipal affairs, instead of all the citizens. Being the last hall, provided under our town administration, may its uses be so regulated, that it may be a pleasant remembrancer of the past and an acceptable monitor for the present.

#### CITY HALL.

It having become the prevalent impression of our population, that the city authorities needed accommodations in their several departments, steps were accord-

ingly taken. Having been less than a year in being erected, the Hall was occupied, in the evening of May 31, 1838, for the first time, by the City Council. According to the wise example of our ancestors, the edifice was dedicated by prayer and an address was delivered on the occasion. Its front is granite, whose general style is Grecian. Its other walls are of brick. Its height is about 32, breadth 45, and its length 68 feet. Its cost was \$25,000. This sum was the greater portion of the surplus revenue, derived from the national treasury, as the average of Salem. Such windfalls are not likely to be realized again. Should they occur, they may be well applied to repair the breaches of our public credit, as caused by the repudiating States. The whole appearance of the building exhibits economy combined with strength, and convenience with chasteness of architectural taste. As a precaution of wisdom, an order passed, Aug. 27, 1837, that it be insured for \$15,000. Situated on the east side of Washington street and immediately to the north of Stearns' block, may its continuance and utility be so prolonged, that none shall hereafter have occasion to search for its foundations and ask for the place it occupied. Whatever other changes may come over it, imagination can furnish no probable advance in human inventions, which may demand the spoiling of its fair proportions and the subversion of its sturdy materials.

## REGISTRY.

Among the proper devices for good, was that to have an edifice, a part of which should be fire proof

for the depositing of county papers. That it might not rest in mere fancy and desire, our townsmen voted, Aug. 22, 1806, that such a project should be accomplished. The succeeding March 10th, a committee were designated to proceed with the work. It was then, also, concluded, that the occupant should pay a rent of about \$200. This was subsequently lowered. On the 23d, \$4,000 were voted for the object. It was placed on land, at the corner of Broad and Summer streets, which formerly belonged to the first Alms house. Thus the soil, which once aided the poor, became the situation of better security to the rich. It is made of brick, and two stories high. Its structure, though built at a price, not allowing it to be very permanent, was adapted to its purpose. It was among the hopeful signs, that communities were not contented with committing the documentary evidence of their estates to repositories, whose chief barrier against devouring flame, were wooden materials, on which it most readily fastens. The registry department was moved to the present court house, Oct. 1842. The whole has been lately leased at a low rent.

#### DWELLINGS.

Civil architecture, in an improved state, is not only the result of civilization, but, also, a great contributor to its advancement. The materials, which it employed in ancient nations, are used in modern, according to their locations and productions. When our fathers came to Naumkeag, they adopted it here in general, as they left it in England. The first house, erected on the soil of Salem, belonged to Roger Co-



nant. Up to 1660, the greater part of our dwellings were cottages. These, as would be expected, were of different value. Some had thatched roofs, wooden or catted chimnies. It was usual for ancient towns to have certain lots, between the salt marsh and low water mark, where thatch grew, assigned for the purpose of supplying roofs to their humbler abodes. One of the places where this article was cut, 1628, for our settlers, lay in what afterwards became Beverly. The chimnies, spoken of, were no very safe accommodations. They, of course, had their fire places of stone or brick, but above was wood, or catted, being sticks with ends over one another at right angles, and plastered with clay. One of them is spoken of, 1656, as follows. George Norton took a lease of Emanuel Downing's farm, near Mr. Endicott's, where he was to build a house like Mr. Treadwell's of Ipswich, except "brick chimneys, instead whereof he is to make sufficient catted chimneys." They were among the expedients, which prevalent practice often imposes on new communities, when a little resolution to look at customs, as they are,—to relinquish the dangerous and adopt the safe, would be far better for present and future benefit.

With reference to the combustible materials of dwellings, which have been mentioned, Governor Dudley, while speaking of late fires, in 1631, wrote the subjoined passage. "For the prevention whereof in our new towne, intended this somer to bee builded, wee haue ordered that noe man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented vnto, for that diverse other

howses haue beene burned since our arrivall (the fire allwaies begininge in the wooden chimneys) and some English wigwams, which haue taken fire in the roofes covered with thatch or boughs." Abodes of this kind, though diminished with the progress of our plantation, continued over a half century. With such perils, our fathers needed their restrictions and provision of the nightly bellman, which, like the curfew of their native country, might prevent the devastations of a devouring element.

We will now look at the better dwellings of our ancestors. They did not build their habitations with bricks, as we apply the phrase. Still they had these for chimnies in their better houses, and, also, placed one over another, on their narrow sides, plaistered with clay inside and out; between the timbers and joists, and then covered externally with clayboards, as sometimes pertinently written, and, at others, clapboards. Such buildings were not at all lacking in the best of white oak for their frames. Their proportion of it would be made to go three times further in our day.

The different apartments had a large portion of the beams in them, projected so as to be seen. They were usually of two stories. The upper jutted, outside, a foot or two over the lower and the attic over the second story. Such extension, as the fabulous would sometimes have us believe, was contrived to afford apertures for guns to be discharged on hostile Indians. It may have been accommodated for such a purpose, but it was originated long before the settlement of our country. In the native land of our primi-

tive emigrants, it was carried so far as to shelter ladies from the rain before the introduction of umbrellas. Some have supposed, that such projection was first intended there partly to protect the outside of houses then usually plaistered, from the weather. The roofs, being of the gable or triangular form and shingled, were high and steep to throw off the rain rapidly. A part of them may have been covered with tiles, as these were made here in 1629. They were relieved by dormer or luthern windows, each of which had another roof to correspond with the main roof. The places for these lights, on each side of a house, contained sleeping rooms with peaked fronts.

*Windows.*—While oiled paper lighted the cottage, glass did the same for more convenient abodes. The latter material was named, 1629, as needed for this place. It was cut in diamond form, set in lead lines, from three to four inches long. The windows, containing it, were from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 feet in length, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2, in width. Sometimes they were made in halves. They opened either outwardly, or inwardly, on hinges. They were fashionable over a century. Such formed and sized glass was succeeded by those of 4 by 6 inches measurement, these by 5 and 7, these by 6 and 8, these by 7 and 9, these by 8 and 10, set with putty in wood sashes. When, fifty years ago, the 10 and 12, 12 and 14 squares came into vogue, they were viewed by many persons of the old school, as an extravagant advance on the dimensions of former times, and almost likely to make our habitations literally glass houses of peril and expense. The passion for such brittle enlargement, is far from being satisfied.

Of the various articles, exceedingly scarce in the Revolution, was glass. A petition from Groton to the Council of Massachusetts, 1779, stated, that the windows of their school and meeting houses were much broken, and they could find no glass to purchase at private stores, and, therefore, prayed to pay for some out of the public depository.

*Chimnies.*—There was one, and sometimes two brick chimnies in each eligible house. They were of much greater size than in modern times. Their tops, above the roof, were nicely worked. As an appendage to chimnies, unknown to our ancestors, is the lightning rod, invented by Franklin about 1747. After this came into use, but comparatively few houses had it either here or elsewhere. A large portion of community considered it as opposition to Providence. Prior to 40 years ago, aside from its appearance on some of our public buildings, it only raised its forked head above the chimnies of our more wealthy abodes. Since, they have come more into vogue, and, particularly within a dozen years, have they bristled with a greater number of points than formerly, along the rod from its top downward.

*Fire Places.*—These were of larger dimensions anciently than in our day. Those of the front rooms would be sometimes ornamented with Dutch tiles, presenting scriptural sketches. Those of the kitchens took up much space. In cold seasons, they were well occupied with great logs and other fuel. Two large seats, one in each corner, would accommodate no inconsiderable family. As evidence, that our fathers did not altogether depend on their fire places, in win-

ter time, for comfort, we have the succeeding extract of 1652, from our legislative records. Mr. John Clark's "invention for saving of fire wood and warming of rooms with little cost." He was allowed an exclusive patent of it for three years. Whatever family used it were to allow him 10'.

*Front Door.*—This was deeply recessed and had an arched weather board above. It was sometimes marked with lines so that the figures, thus made, might agree with the form and size of the diamond lights for the windows. It had brass nails driven in at the points where the lines intersected. It was supplied with a knocker outside, generally of iron, to warn the inmates, that a caller wished admittance. This was instead of the knob, attached to a bell for like use and of recent introduction in our community. The door often had a large porch before it, with a seat on each side for the accommodation of the family and social visitors. In 1655, Edward Wharton had leave to put up an addition of this kind.

*Room Walls.*—These, in the common sort of dwellings, were made of clay mixt with straw. But, in others of greater cost, they were of lime, manufactured from shells, and mixt with cattle's hair, sand and chalk. With regard to walls made of other lime, the succeeding items are given. Among various particulars, which Thomas Graves, who came to our colony in 1629, was commissioned to do, was one "in fynding out sorts of lyme stone and materials for building." On the scarcity of lime, in New England, Josselyn wrote, 1663, as though no stones had been found, that would "run to lime, of which they have

great want." But, as prior to 1681, this substance had been discovered abundantly in Pennsylvania, our vessels could bring it thence, if our own people did not meet with it, in this quarter, soon after 1663. Whenever thus supplied, our ancestors could more easily and economically set off their rooms with lime walls, and give them occasional coats of white wash. This was used, for a long series of years, in the most of our chief mansions. Still, from the subsequent order of 1724, there was then a continuance of using shell lime. "Ordered that muscles shall not be used for making lime or any thing else, except for food and bait to catch fish."

Such was the policy of our rulers, under the first charter, to exclude luxuries from their jurisdiction, it is not probable, that the tapestry or paper, hung up as ornaments to the rooms of houses in England, had much encouragement here for that period. After the government was wrested from their hands in 1686, it is likely that such articles began to make a less confined appearance. Among the earliest notices, which we have of them in newspapers, is one of 1737. Some were sold, 1761, in Boston, for a house at Roxbury from  $4/9\frac{1}{2}$  to 5/ a roll. They have long been called paper hangings, though pasted on the walls, evidently from the ancient custom of hanging up such kind of appendages so as to take them down at pleasure. A quantity of them, from India, captured by one of our privateers, was advertized in a Salem Gazette of 1781. Still they were not generally seen in our dwellings till after 1800.

*Floor Coverings.*—Though in the first occupation



of our soil, a few of the more distinguished brought a stinted store of carpets with them, these articles were not seen in the far greater portion of our better houses. Down to even 1800, but a small part of our common livers had their parlors ornamented with them.

Every Monday, after washing, the floors would be scoured as white, as pine would allow them, in all regular establishments, and then the light blue sand, from the beaches of Gloucester and Ipswich, would be thrown on, in handfulls, so as to make circular and spotted figures. James Burr notifies our population, 1770, that he should like to supply them with such a commodity. The building where this article was stored and whence a horse cart daily departed with its loads, stood, having the boards inside of the frame, on a wharf S. E. of North bridge. Among the charges of William Baker, paid by the State, 1777, was sweeping and sanding the Council chamber, "against General Court came to town." When our tidy house-wives had so prepared their floors, they were lothfully crossed, for a day or two by orderly children, who hated to erase the handy work of their mothers. Especially, if their little heads got inside of the front room door, did the whole appearance seem to salute them,—'kept for show,—keep off,—make no tracks here.'

*Painting.*—This was an art scarcely practiced among our early inhabitants. They had so much exertion to make for the essential, they could do little for the ornamental. Rev. Thomas Allen of Charlestown was called in question, 1639, about a concern of this kind. A minute of the Assistant Court says, he

"appearing was discharged the painting, being before his time and disliked of him." With the face of chief authority, so set against paint for buildings, it could hardly become popular. In a list of mechanics, 1670, as given by our General Court, no painter was designated. But such persons as the latter were in Philadelphia 1681. Among the most ancient notices of painting, as an ornament for any edifice in our limits, was one of 1705, when Queen Anne's coat of arms was ordered to receive a colored covering in the Court house chamber. Painters' colors were for sale in Boston 1714. Down to the Revolution of 1775, the advance in using such materials was slow. As confirmatory of this, we have an instance not long prior to the year last mentioned. A thriving cooper, who wished to excel his neighbors in the appearance of his house, painted one of its rooms. The report of it soon spread. Several acquaintances, being met on a wharf, one told the news to the rest, in the following singular style, "Well, Archer has set a fine example for us, he has laid one of his rooms in oil." From the consequent peace, the progress of painting was much more rapid. Now many of our wooden dwellings are painted inside and out and thus give an aspect of attraction to the city.

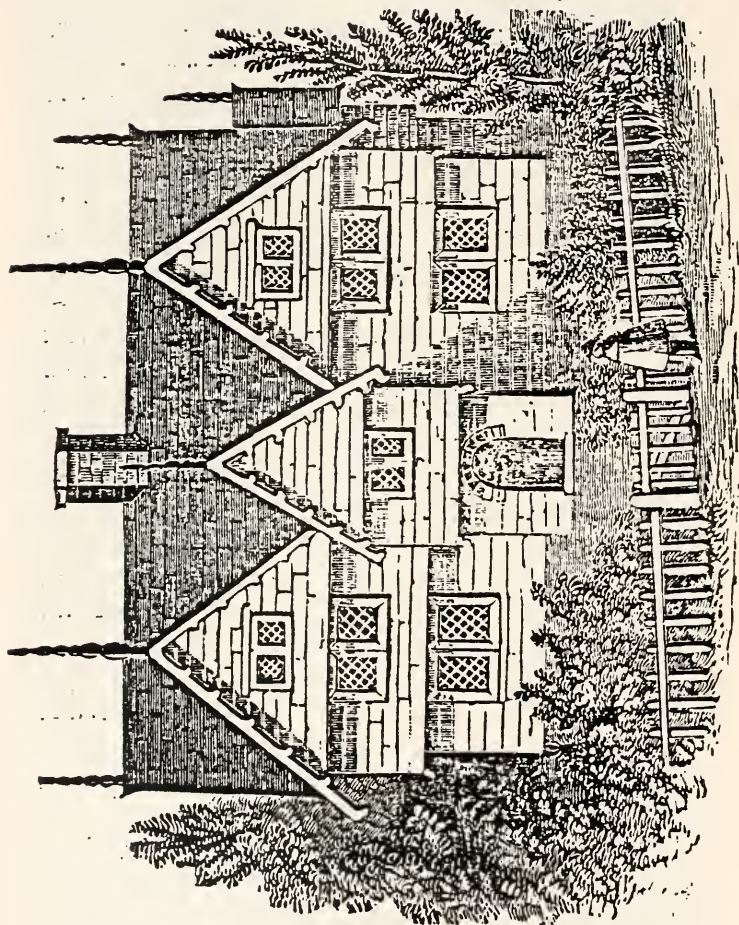
Having attended to the minutiae of ancient habitations, we now take a general view of some among them, which yet continue to afford us visible specimens of style, strikingly different from that of the more modern ones, which are fast crowding the former 'out of sight and out of mind.'

After Roger Conant and others had houses erected

at Naumkeag, Governor Endicott ordered the materials of another, at Cape Ann, to be brought hither, 1628, and rebuilt for his own abode. This mansion, so transferred, was prevailingly of the model, in England, first called Tudor; and, afterwards, the Elizabethan, which was essentially Gothic. It was two stories high and generally resembled the cuts, which will be presented in this connection. Portions are still contained in the building at the corner of Court and Church streets. It has undergone different alterations and passed through hands of various occupations.

Among the most tasteful of such edifices was that of George Curwin. He had it built in 1642. From him it fell to his son, Jonathan. This person was a judge and had several examinations of individuals, charged with witchcraft, in one of its apartments. It was the premises of a noted robbery, in 1684, which resulted, as to its perpetrators, in the bitter experience that iniquity, not only in the lashes of conscience, but, also, of the body, brought its own punishment. Though it has gone through several transformations, still a part of it looks like the production of a by-gone age. That we may have a correct impression of its original appearance, on the spot, now known as the west corner of Essex and North streets, its likeness is presented on the next page.

Our attention is next turned to the French house, so called, because, at one period, it was tenanted by French families. It stood on the corner of two lanes, known as Gedney court, which leads from High street to Summer street. It was of the form, which char-

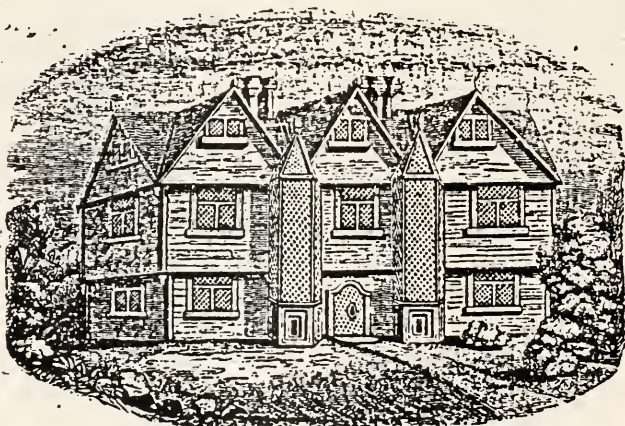


acterized the preceding. It was built, 1645, by Richard Claydon, and was occupied 34 years, as a Custom house, when commerce centered principally on the upper part of South river. It was razed about eight years ago and the position, which it long held, tells not that it ever had being. Another of similarly constructed mansions, which invites our passing notice, is the Henfield house. This was situated on the east side of Washington street, near to and southward of the first church. It was formerly the residence of Hilliard Veren and is supposed to have been built in 1650. A part of its first proportions and much of its oak frame remained till its subversion, in 1839, to accommodate the Railroad. Under the like class, we have the dwelling, situated in Broad street, opposite to the western end of the burying hill. It occupies the pleasant premises, which once belonged to Emanuel Downing. It was built about 1650, by John Pickering, who was its owner, and whose descendants have ever since retained it in their possession. Its present proprietor, who bears his name, has, within a few years, restored two of the three peaks, which formerly belonged to its front.

We might speak particularly of others, as that of William Pickering at Wood's gate; another of the Pickering family, facing Pine street; of Metcalf at the corner of Flint and Essex streets; of Deacon Holman, formerly Thomas Maule's; of the Clark family, erected by Deliverance Parkman, on the corner of North and Essex streets and opposite the Curwin house; of Dea. Hunt, on the corner of Lynde and Court streets; of William Brown, razed so that its lo-



cation with the large garden might accommodate the Lafayette Coffee house, and of Philip English at the corner of Webb and English streets, built 1685, and torn down in 1833; but we must leave them with the cursory notice, just taken of them. A few words are required for the Bradstreet mansion. This appears to have been owned by Joseph Gardner, who fell in defence of the Colony, when threatened with extermination. After his widow married Governor Bradstreet, it was called by the name of the latter. It was pulled down about 1750. It occupied the site of the house, erected by the late Joseph Augustus Peabody. Its proportions and appearance are exhibited by the subsequent drawing.



As our eye runs over such representations, we perceive their resemblance to the many "cottages ornate," which are making their appearance in the vicinity of our metropolis and thus reviving a style of architect-



ure, which has been long disused in our communities. When we catch a glance of the remnants, which belonged to edifices, thus portrayed, we are carried back to the scene, when they began to peer above the cottages around them, attract the gaze of the untutored Indian, and renew, more impressively, the emigrant's associations of domestic art in the land of his fathers.

After the fashion of dwellings, like those of Curwin's, began to wane, another, of course, was in the ascendant. The new form was adopted in the mansion, owned by Benjamin Pickman, recently deceased. It was particularly manifested in the roof, called mansard from the name of its projector in France, who died 1666, and commonly denominated gambrel. It was, also, noticeable for dropping the lattice-like windows and the jutting upper stories of its predecessor. This house was erected under the superintendence of an English carpenter, 1743, who, also, directed in the building of the Cabot house on the same street up in town. Like specimens of model were exhibited in the dwelling, said to have been made for Timothy Lindall and now owned by heirs of John H. Andrews, deceased ; in that of master John Ford and at present of Rev. Dr. Emerson, and of others, whose names we should like to specify, if space would permit. A form different from the preceding was, also, used: It was applied to the house, erected for Billings Bradish, now owned by William Dean. In this building, the roof presented four sides, rather steep, without any gable ends. On our houses, made some over a half century, such roofs have had less angles of

descent, and thus conform with the Grecian model. So modified, the four sided roofs predominate in Salem.

With regard to the height of our houses, there were few of them three stories prior to the close of our Revolutionary war. Down to 1800, these gradually increased. Since, their ratio of advance has been much greater.

Among the most superb mansions of Salem, was that of Elias Hasket Derby. It was finished in 1799, was of wood and three stories high. Its cost was \$80,000. Its location had been occupied by a three story, mansard roof house of Col. Samuel Brown. Its worthy proprietor lived but a few years to enjoy so fine a specimen of architecture. It came to his son, Hasket, and finally was taken away before the erection of the Market and Town Hall, which occupy its premises.

As to the materials of structure, down to 1774, our dwellings, with very few exceptions, were all of wood. This fact applied, in almost as great an extent, to other buildings. Of the first brick houses, known in Salem, was Benjamin Marston's, mentioned 1707, as having been made by George Cabot, a mason, of Boston. Its location is occupied by the Lee house, at the corner of Crombie and Essex streets. It was an elegant edifice for its day. It had free stone capitals for its front corners, which were subsequently placed on posts, before the Kitchen mansion at the corner of Essex and Beckford streets. Tradition relates, that the wife of Mr. Marston persuaded him to have the house pulled down, because she supposed it was damp and injurious to health, and that this circumstance

created a strong prejudice here against brick dwellings. The next in order of age, so far as known, are several in Essex street. These follow. Tho Haraden house, erected for Francis Cabot, 1768; the Lawrence house, built for Doctor Prince by the order of his wife's father, Richard Derby; the Appleton house, built 1772; the Hathorn house built for David Cheever, and the Rust house, built for David Britton, and the one, nearly opposite the market, built by order of Timothy Pickering for his son Gardner. Then another in Summer street, erected for Matthew Mansfield, as a store, 1768, and, since 1800, raised a third story and much altered. In Washington street, near the Railroad depot, is the two story house, formerly belonging to Joshua Ward and made before the Revolution, and the Rea house to the north of Essex street, was built for Samuel Field soon after the fire of 1774. In Derby street is the house of Henry Ropes. It was built about 1761 for Elias H. Derby by order of his father, Richard Derby. Among other brick buildings of this class, was the school house in Washington street, made 1760, and taken down many years ago. Very probably our forts, built over two centuries since, were of brick. With reference to the number of buildings, made of such materials, and standing in 1805, it was as follows. Those entirely brick were 25 houses and 14 stores, and there were 10 others for additional purposes. Besides these there were 12 more composed of brick and wood. Since the year last designated, there has been a considerable addition to our brick edifices, though far less than comparative safety demands. If our granite be not

fine or popular enough, brick kilns should, at least, have more frequent and heavier draughts on them for our habitations, stores and warehouses.

#### TAVERNS.

As a distinct class of buildings, public houses, of different sorts, may claim our observance at this stage of our progress. By introducing them, however, persons and particulars, with which they are associated, ask for a like attention. That both may be connectedly presented, the succeeding method is adopted.

Such establishments were anciently called ordinaries and inns. Several requisitions were made of them by our early laws, of the ensuing tenor. They who kept them, were obliged to get licenses, and have "some inoffensive sign obvious for direction to strangers." They were not to suffer "any to be drunke," nor to tipple "after nine of the clock at night." They were required to clear their houses, "where week day lectures<sup>1</sup> are kept," of all persons able to attend meeting.

1633. "Noe person that keepes an ordinary shall take above 6<sup>d</sup> a meale for a person and not above 1<sup>d</sup> for an ale quart for beare out of meale time vnder

<sup>1</sup> In the first edition of this work, page 61, taverns are said to have been places for lectures in 1633. This is a mistake, occasioned as follows. The legislative records, in the State Library, speak of such services, as performed at "Ordinary Houses." This phrase could mean nothing else but taverns, in its most obvious sense, according to such authority, which was all the writer then had to consult. But the original records have the words, "all the ordinary howres," which evidently mean time and not houses. The last authority is decisive.

penalty of 10<sup>s</sup> for eury such offence, either of dyet or beare."

1637. John Holgrave, at the earnest request of the town, "hath vndertaken to keepe an ordinary for the entertaynement of strangers." Relative to persons of his calling, as well as others, the subsequent order was passed by the General Court. "No person shall sell any cakes or buns either in the markets or victualling houses or elsewhere vpon paine of 10<sup>s</sup> fine, provided, that this order shall not extend to such cakes as shalbe made for any buriall or marriage, or such like speciall occation."

1639. John Gedney succeeds Mr. Holgrave, but they reversed the change the next year.

1645. William Clarke is chosen for a similar employment. His widow, Catherine, with a family of children, takes his place the ensuing year. She was granted a license for £10 per annum, if "she provide a fit man, that is godly, to manage the businesse."

1646. John Bourne is allowed to keep a cook shop. His petition craved to "sell such meate, as shall be by him provided and also becare both in his own house and also abroade."

1648. As Mr. Downing's farm, on the road between Lynn and Ipswich and next to the Endicott farm, was convenient for an ordinary, a servant of the former was allowed to keep one there.

1651. The legislature forbid dancing at taverns.

1653. Elias Stileman had kept a house of entertainment in Salem, but, finding it unprofitable, he desired to sell wine.

1661. A house was erected for John Massey, which

became noted, as a tavern, on this side of Beverly Ferry. It was thus employed till the erection of a bridge there and was torn down in 1819. It was long called "The old Ferry Tavern." As founded on the soil, connected with lots of our primitive planters, as erected for one among their first born, as the retreat of travellers over a century, it is associated in our memories with incidents pleasant, sad and monitory. Both it and its former possessors are passed away and its premises are trodden by the feet of strangers.

1663. John Ruck is allowed to be a taverner and next year, a vintner.

1668. Richard Waters has leave to sell beer and ale.

1670. Anthony Ashby has like liberty with the addition of cider. Beer, of the best kind, was  $1\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>d</sup> a quart. A horse's fodder for a day and night, was 4<sup>d</sup> in summer and 6<sup>d</sup> in winter.

1671. Joseph Gardner is elected to keep an ordinary and sell wine.

1673. "Nathaniel Ingerson is allowed to sell bear and syder by the quart for the tyme whyle the farmers are a building of their meeting house and on Lord's days afterwards."

1674. As Capt. More is reduced, he is permitted to keep "a publick howse of entertaynment for y<sup>e</sup> selling of beer, wine and syder." Two years after, Daniel King has the same privilege, George Dorland and William Lake, also, with reference to beer and cyder.

1678. The selectmen return to the County Court,



as fit persons to be licensed for keepers of public houses, John Gedney, Daniel King, Capt. More, William Lake, Mrs. Eleanor Hollingworth and Richard Croude. It is likely, that the lady, on the list of those, so recommended, may have kept the Blue Anchor tavern, near the situation of the English mansion. Such a public house was formed like our best ancient dwellings, with its steep peaks and other corresponding appendages. It was a noted resort for Marblehead parties, who came over the South Ferry. It was torn down about 1751.

1679. As previously stated, John Clifford has leave to open a victualling house<sup>1</sup> at Winter Island.

1681. The widow Ann Lake and John Bullock are approved for similar business, in which the latter was previously engaged. He undertook it the year before, because crippled in the late Indian war. Of five individuals, including Mrs. Hollingworth and Mrs. Lake, thus occupied, each of them is to "provide for the accommodation of the Courts and jurors, likewise all other matters of a publicke concerne proper for them." Richard Croude was added to them in course of the same month and Nathaniel Ingersol for the village.

1683. Samuel Beadle, who lost his health in the Narraganset expedition, is allowed to take the place of Mr. Stephens, as an innkeeper.

1685. Samuel Shattuck is recommended to succeed Daniel King, who had resigned his ordinary.

1689. Daniel Weeb and Thomas Beadle are aliko

<sup>1</sup> This does not seem to have been the origin of the Blue Anchor Tavern, as suggested on page 194.

approved, and Walter Phillips, sen., for the village. The next year, Gilbert Tapley and William Trask are recommended.

1692. John Stacy was occupying the Ship Tavern, as a successor to John Gedney, who had been its proprietor and keeper, and who had died a few years before. The establishment had, very probably, long retained such a name. This year, twelve persons were approved as innholders and seven to dispose of liquors out doors.

1693. Francis Ellis is allowed to take the Ship Tavern and Mrs. Ann Stevens, Joshua Rea and Thomas Haines to engage in similar business.

1697. Widow Collins has leave to keep a public house.

1700. Henry Sharp, from Boston, is permitted to take the establishment of Francis Ellis.

1701. A late act, which required the venders of liquor, to take oath how much of it they bought so as to pay excise on it, occasioned great discontent. Among the innkeepers from Essex County and elsewhere, who applied to General Court to have the law altered, were Walter Phillips and Nathaniel Ingersol.

1707. Thomas Waters is approved to keep a house of entertainment, which belonged to Philip English, and which Mr. Ellis had recently vacated. This building was probably the Blue Anchor, which has been supposed as kept by Mrs. Hollingworth, the mother-in-law of Mr. English.

1712. Samuel Goldthwaite is appointed as a taverner. The name of Mr. Pratt first appears among our innholders, though he had evidently been con-

nected with them before. Tradition informs us that he long tenanted the Ship Tavern.

1713. Mrs. Mary Gedney has permission for the like calling, and, also, Elisha Odlin from Boston. The next year, Samuel Goldthwaite Jr., Benjamin Houlton and Joseph Tapley are similarly allowed.

1715. Benjamin Ropes; 1716, Lemon Beadle; 1719, Jonathan Nurse and Adoniram Collins; 1720, widow Ruth Fowls; 1721, Benjamin Parnel, and, 1722, widow Elizabeth Lindsey are approved as keepers of public houses.

1727. The Globe Tavern is first met with by the writer. As we proceed from this date to the time of our first newspapers, we have less means of information as to such establishments. Among our innholders, 1742, we find Abigail Elkins.

1748. Asa Putnam petitions to keep a tavern on the upper road from Boston to Ipswich, where James Phillips kept till two or three years past, and, for a great number of years, John Porter, now dropsical, was of like employment in his own house.

Several months after, Walter Smith petitions to open a public house at the village.

1749. William Becket, John and Edward Britton are allowed to follow such employment.

1750. Mr. Pratt moved to a large house, which resembled the Bradstreet mansion, and was located on the east corner of Washington and Essex streets, where the Stearns building is situated. There he continued to entertain travellers and others, as usual.

In 1752, Benjamin Waters, being connected with

the Beverly ferry, obtains a license to entertain travellers in the Massey house.

1759. The Governor forbids any taverner to sell spirituous liquors, wines, coffee, tea, ale, beer and cider on the Sabbath.

1768. The King's Arms tavern is mentioned. It was of the ancient form and the residence of Col. Benjamin Brown a century since. Subsequently William Goodhue occupied it for a public house. When the Revolution began, its royal name was dispensed with and exchanged for that of Sun.

1773. Jonathan Webb states, that there is only one public house, near the centre of Salem and desires, that he may open another, which is granted. His advertisement says, that he had taken the house on the corner of what are now Washington and Church streets. It remarks, that this location was formerly the noted tavern of Mr. Somerville and afterwards tenanted by Benjamin Coats. It further informs us, that the house had received the name of Ship, which, as will be remembered, had been long applied to the Gedney establishment.

Abraham Safford gives notice, that he had opened a tavern in the upper part of the town, with an elegant sign of King George the third, on what is now Federal street.

The London Coffee House is opened by Ephraim Ingalls in what is now Central street. He engages that "English magazines and a variety of newspapers will be procured for the amusement of his respectable customers."

1774. Salem Coffee House is commenced by Da-

vid Ropes, Jr., near the Episcopal church. William Goodhue kept the Sun Tavern.

1782. The latter offers to let his situation. It was located at the head of Central street. His successor was Samuel Robinson.

David Musury notifies, that he has opened the Essex Coffee House, next to the Ship tavern.

1792. Zadoc Bullinton had begun to occupy the last of these two establishments. He had recently married Deborah Saltmarsh, who had been an assistant in the family of Benjamin Webb, had bought the estate for £300 and, for a while, had been its landlady.

1794. Jacob Bacon kept a public house with the sign of an Eagle, on the south side of Essex street, not far below the head of Beckford street.

Before William Gray had the Sun tavern torn down, about 1800, to accommodate his brick house, it was occupied by Jonathan Webb, son to a former keeper of the Ship tavern. After Mr. Gray moved to his new mansion, his old one was tenanted by Mr. Webb, who continued to have his usual sign.

The dwelling thus changed from one of our most noted private abodes, was erected for Samuel Brown. He left it to his son William, who advertised it to be let, in 1760. "Then it had brick ends and sides, "ruff cast," or plaistored with lime and glass and gravel thrown upon them so as to adhere. As Mr. Brown was a loyalist, this estate was sequestered. After being made a tavern, it so continued, till taken down to accommodate the Manning building, but now Bowker Place.

1800. There were two public houses in town, the Sun, just mentioned, and the Ship.

1803. Benjamin Crombie opens the Lee house as a tavern and adopts the sign of a ship, being, at least, the third by such a name. The ship did not appear long, and in its place, is now seen nothing more than City Hotel, in large letters, being the present name of the concern.

1807. Thomas A. Breed advertises, that he has commenced a public house where Mrs. Buffinton formerly kept, which was the second Ship tavern.

1808. John Grant opened a public house, with the sign of an anchor, at the west corner of Essex and Beckford streets. It did not continue long.

1814. Prince Stetson occupies the elegant mansion of William Gray, and has it called the Essex Coffee House. The sign is a well drawn likeness of the edifice. When Lafayette made his last visit here, the name was changed to that of this noble friend to our country, which continued till within a year or two, and thence it has been Essex house. Its first name was the second of the kind, which has been applied to Salem hotels.

1833. The dwelling of Nathaniel West is leased for a tavern and called the "Mansion House." Its sign is a drawing of itself. It occupies the situation of the first Ship tavern. Soon after this was torn down, about 90 years ago, that was erected for John Turner. Thus its premises, after being long retained by some of our most respectable families, have reverted to their ancient use.

Besides several victualling concerns and restorators,



Salem has only three public places of entertainment. These are the Essex house, the Mansion house and City hotel. As well known, the term *hotel*, is of recent application to such establishments.

The persevering exertions, which are made to have such resorts under the control of temperance and purity, are worthy of real benevolence and of the best regard for public and private welfare. These houses should never be otherwise than judicious legislation would have them, resting places for the sick and weary, affording comfort to every rational want of the traveller and boarder, and never placing before them the stimulants of passion, as a stratagem to draw from their purses, all that avarice can grasp. Gain from the depravation of another, is recompensed to the gainer with moral debasement and pangs of guilt.

#### NUMBER OF HOUSES.

Before leaving the subject of dwellings, it may be well to glance at various enumerations of them. For an estimate of cottages and houses, erected in Salem, within the first century of its settlement, reference may be made to page 199. In that period an isolated account is given, which, unless explained, leaves a vague impression. It is, that in 1678, when our territory was much more extensive than now, there were only 85 houses for a population, whose polls numbered 300. The fact is, that cottages were more numerous than what were called, by way of distinction, houses, so as to conform with laws, respecting the division of common lands. Probably, at that date, there were not less than 200 cottages in addition to

the houses, for the accommodation of our inhabitants. More than once has the writer seen such bare statements, with regard to the latter abodes, which immediately, on being seen, excite the inquiry, were the people so few as the limited number of their residences imply, or, if more, did they crowd these habitations excessively?

A list, showing the number of dwellings in Salem, inclusive of both small and great, after the first item, with the year prefixed, is as follows :

1629, 11 besides cottages ; 1732, 520 ; 1754, 372 ; 1762, 473 ; 1771, 465 ; 1781, 646 ; 1791, 725 ; 1801, 1,017 ; 1811, 1,313 ; 1821, 1,328 ; 1831, 1,494 ; 1840, 1,637. The difference between the numbers, suffixed to 1732 and 1754, arose from the incorporation of Danvers, as a district, between such periods.

Thus we have surveyed the habitations of Salem, from its being first occupied by Pilgrims, in search of a quiet home, to its present ample accommodations for their numerous descendants. Such ancestors sought not only for habitations of earth, but far more for mansions, "not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." Constant imitation of their example will render us happier tenants here and partakers with them of an imperishable heritage.

#### EDUCATION.

From the views, habits and relations of our primitive settlers, they must have been careful, that the younger part of their families should not be destitute of instruction. As Governor Cradock recommended to Mr. Endicott, in 1628, that he train up some of the

Indian children to reading and religion, no less attention could have been given to the children of the colonists. It would be very gratifying to have the first proceedings of our ancestors, on this subject, in a fair hand, before us. But such as they were, they are lost.

Among the early objects of education in this place, there was one of high reach, though unobtained. 1636, May 2. An application of Mr. John Humphrey for land, in the limits of Salem, was introduced by Mr. Endicott. Among the arguments, on the occasion, in the negative, was this, "least y<sup>t</sup> should hinder the building of a Colledge, which would be maine men's<sup>1</sup> losse." The question was referred to a committee. William Trask gave up his farm to Thomas Scruggs, who took it for his beyond Forest river, so that Mr. Humphrey might be accommodated. This was the spirit of kindness for a noble purpose. It seems to have left the lot desired, unincumbered and thus ready for the erection of a college. The location, so worthily intended, was a beautiful plain, usually denominated Marblehead farms.

Of our first school masters, whose names have come down to us, was the Rev. John Fisk, who appears to have commenced his duties here in 1637. Besides teaching, he assisted Mr. Peters in the pulpit, and so continued over two years. 1640, Jan. "A generall towne meeting,—yong Mr. Norris chose by this assembly to teach schoole."

1641, March 30. At the Quarterly Court, "Col. Endecot moued about the ffences and about a ffireo

<sup>1</sup> A character is used here, which probably signifies men.

skoole and therefore wished a whole towne meeting about it; therefore, that Goodman Auger warme a towne meeting the second day of the week." This applied to Salem. It is the first written intimation, that we have of instruction, without price, among our settlers. Still, the nature of the case requires us to conclude, that whatever children could not be taught without the aid of the plantation, they were thus previously assisted. How the measure, so proposed, was carried into effect, may be learned from the succeeding quotation. 1644, Sept. 30. "Ordered that a note be published one the next lecture day, that such as have children to be kept at schoole, would bring in their names and what they will giue for one whole yeare and, also, that if any poore body hath children or a childe, to be put to schoole and not able to pay for their schooling, that the towne will pay it by a rate." The latter clause shows what our ancestors understood substantially by a free school. It was not to have the teacher paid entirely by tax on the inhabitants, but to be so compensated only for such of his pupils, as could not otherwise attend on his instructions. This continued more or less so, among our population till 1768. Such was the practice, to a limited degree, in the metropolis, and, to a considerable degree, in other places of the Commonwealth. So it still is in such States, as Connecticut and New York. Though the laws of Massachusetts, from its infancy, required, that schools should be sustained among its inhabitants, yet, until the year last named, they left them free as to the mode of paying for the tuition. Then they began to assume a more imperative style

as to such compensations being raised by assessments on property. From that period, the idea of a free school, in Massachusetts, seems to have been generally, that its teacher was entirely paid by a town tax where no funds existed, and, not as before, partly by tax and partly by the pupils. Hence, the ancient signification of free school was not so extensive as in modern years.

Passing over the first free school in our Republic, founded 1621 and located in Virginia, we notice the order of such institutions in three of our towns. The first notice of one, among the regular entries of Boston records, is in 1642. But on the last leaf of the first volume, is a list, dated 1636, of subscribers and their donations towards a school of this kind. Had that leaf been lost, not long after it was written on, Boston would have been deprived of its best evidence to prove the honor of having preceded every settlement of our Colony in so honorable an enterprise. Such a fact intimates, that other towns may have made similar provision years before it appears on their common records. According to these, however, so far as they have come to the writer's knowledge, Salem takes the second stand, 1641, in so commendable a work, and Ipswich, the third, in 1642. If each of seven illustrious cities contended, that it was the birth place of Homer, no less might these three ancient corporations, if the subject were clad with obscurity, vie with one another for the name of having given life to the first free school of our Commonwealth.

That the purpose of instruction might be applied to all suitable subjects in this and other places of their

jurisdiction, the General Court, in 1642, passed a law. This follows: "Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any Commonwealth and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent; It is ordered that the selectmen of every town shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue and knowledge of the capital laws. Also, all masters of families do once a week, at the least, catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion. And, if any be unable to do so much, that then, at the least, they procure such children and apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, that they may be able to answer unto questions, that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism, by their parents or masters, or any of the selectmen, when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in that kind."

To elucidate the progress of education among our fathers, we may attend to the following items in detail.

1645. "Ordered and agreed, that all such as God stirres vp their hearts to contribute to the aduancement of learning, for the maintayninge of poore skolers at the Colledge, at Cambridge, that they bringe into Mr. Price, within one moneth, what they please to giue, and to enter their names with Mr. Fogge and what they giue or contribute." On a subscription paper, supposed of the same year, in the State Archives,



for this purpose, Salem, among other towns, say they will "answer in two months."

At this point we are reminded of another legislative order, passed 1647, which was intended to have the Bible more fully taught among pupils so that they might exercise greater vigilance against the influence of Papacy and be led to a fuller practice of Protestantism. It runs thus: "It being one chiefe proiect of y<sup>t</sup>ould deludor, Satan, to keepe men from the knowledge of y<sup>e</sup> Scriptures, as in former times by keeping y<sup>m</sup> in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by perswading from y<sup>e</sup> use of tongues, y<sup>t</sup> so at least y<sup>e</sup> true sence and meaning of y<sup>e</sup> originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, y<sup>t</sup> learning may not be buried in y<sup>e</sup> grave of our fathers in y<sup>e</sup> church and Commonwealth, y<sup>e</sup> Lord assisting our indeavours: It is therefore ordered y<sup>t</sup> every towneship in this jurisdiction after y<sup>e</sup> Lord hath increased y<sup>m</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> number of 50 housholders shall then forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children, as shall resort to him to write and roade, whose wages shall be paid either by y<sup>e</sup> parents or masters of such children, or by y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants in generall by way of supply, as y<sup>e</sup> maior part of those y<sup>t</sup> order y<sup>e</sup> prudentials of y<sup>e</sup> towne shall appoint, provided those y<sup>t</sup> send their children be not oppressed by paying much more y<sup>a</sup> they can have y<sup>m</sup> taught for in other townes. And it is further ordered y<sup>t</sup> where any towne shall increase to y<sup>e</sup> number of 100 families, or householders, they shall set up a grunmer schoole, y<sup>e</sup> master thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fited for y<sup>e</sup> university, provided y<sup>t</sup> if

any towne neglect y<sup>e</sup> performance hereof above one yeare, y<sup>e</sup> every such towne shall pay £5 to y<sup>e</sup> next schoole till they shall performe this order."

We will now resume the series of facts on the subject before us.

1654. „Our legislature forbid persons of unsound doctrine and immoral conduct to instruct scholars.

1655. Our school was kept in the town house.

1656. A committee are empowered to have "the schoolehouse repayed."

1657. "A bill came to hand to make a rate for the Colledge" for £5 6. 1663. 'Tax for the same, £6 12.

1668. Voted £3 to Edward Norris so that he may have a chimney built in his school house, and £5 "for his incouragment for teaching of children for the yeare ensuingo." £8 to the College.

1669. Business to be done "about a school for the towne."

1670, Feb. 21. A meeting of inhabitants ordered in March, to consider "of a grammer scoole maister."

April 5. "The selectmen shall take care to provide a Grammer scool maister and agree with him for his mayntenance."

July 5. A committee are to agree with Daniel Epes, Jr. 18th. He was to have £20 a year from the town "in such pay as may be sutable for him; to haue, besides, halfe pay for all scollers of the towne and whole pay from strangers." His salary was £60.

1671. "Colledge money" £6. The expression, "where the scoolhouse formerly stood," was used in an account. "Voated that the selectmen shall take care to provide a house for Mr. Epps to keep skoolo

in." "Edward Norice shall haue £10 allowed him for the year ensueing, towards his maintainance and this to be paid out of the towne rate."

1672, Jan. 16. Bill granted by selectmen to pay Daniel Andrews "for keeping skoole in his house and mending the skoole house, that now is." £1 18.

That we may have a general view of education, at this time, in Massachusetts, and thus have some idea of what it then was in Salem, the subsequent extract is given from the election sermon of Rev. Thomas Shepard, delivered in the same year. "O that inferior schools were every where so settled and encouraged, as that the College (which the Lord hath made to be a spring of blessing to the land) might not now languish for want of a sufficient supply of young ones from them! There is a great decay in inferior schools, it were well if that, also, were examined and the cause thereof removed, and foundations laid for free schools, where poor scholars might be then educated by some public stock."

1673, Jan. 4. The town records show, that Mr. Norris resumed the Grammar school, the preceeding July 17, for one year, and that a rate of £10 is now ordered for him accordingly. They, also, speak of bills, due Mr. Eppes for similar service "till he went out of towne." This implies, that the latter had left his employment here and gone elsewhere. How long he staid, is unknown. It will be seen, under 1677, that he was invited to take the school, and in so formal a manner, as to indicate, that he may then have been about to return. If so, Mr. Norris may have superin-

tended the school, during his absence, though such was the distressed condition of the whole Colony; on account of the Indian war, that it is likely there was not so great a call, as usual, for such service for about two years.

In Nov. of 1676, the town allowed Mr. Norris £3 for the use of his house, 15 months, which time, it is likely, he spent in teaching the Grammar scholars.

1673, Dec. As five men neglected to have their children instructed and brought up to some useful calling, our selectmen advertised that such children would be put out to service.

1675. At the May session, General Court ordered letters for all town clerks, in which the ministers were desired to promote the payment of contributions, due for the new College building, and the subscription of more for its completion.

1677, April 7. "Voted by y<sup>e</sup> towne y<sup>t</sup> Mr. Daniell Epps is called to bee a grammar schoole master for y<sup>e</sup> towne, soe long as hee shall continue and performe y<sup>e</sup> said place in y<sup>e</sup> towne, provided hee may haue w<sup>t</sup> shall bee anually allowed him, not by a towne rate, butt in some other suteable way."

June 28th. 'The selectmen "agreed with Mr. Eppes to teach all such scholars, as shall be sent to him from persons in town in y<sup>e</sup> English, Latin and Greek tongue soe as to fit them for y<sup>e</sup> Vniuersity, if desired and they are capable; alsoe, to teach them good manners and instruct them in y<sup>e</sup> principles of Christian Religion." He is to receive for each scholar 20/ a year, and if this is not enough to make £60, the selectmen will

make up this sum ; or, if more than enough, to have it and the price of tuition for scholars out of town and a right to commonage, and be free from all taxes, trainings, watchings and wardings.

1678, Feb. 17. Mr. Eppes had received from his scholars, towards a half year's salary £17 19 10. The balance he was to have from rent of certain commons, of Baker's and Misery Islands, as the proportion from the town.

May 9. Joseph Brown, son of William, who had preached several years at Charlestown, left £50 towards paying for education at the Salem Grammar school.

1680, April 5. A return is made from Salem to the committee in Boston, "concerning y<sup>e</sup> colledge money and Lt. John Pickering chosen and sent for that end." For this edifice our townsmen gave £130 2 3, of which Rev. John Higginson gave £5, Messrs. Edmund Batter £20, and William Brown, Jr. £40.

1682, Dec. 18. £25 5 3, a donation<sup>1</sup> for the Grammar school, by William Brown, sen., was loaned on interest.

1684, March 8. Having appropriated annually from £10 to £15, for the use of Mr. Edward Norris, from the first and last resignation of his office in favor of Mr. Eppes till the present, the town once more voted him the latter sum, which was the last of the kind he lived to receive and enjoy. Thus to smooth the passage of so worthy a man to the grave, was an act of justice, as well as of kindness to him, who had

<sup>1</sup> A report on the schools, in 1835, says, £21 5 3.

expended the vigor of his life and intellect to enlighten this community with useful instruction. Such expressions are among the redeeming traits of fallen humanity and lead us to feel, that there is some flesh in mortal hearts.

1687, Feb. 7. We hear again from the family of noble views and liberal hands. William Brown, sen., gave to the Grammar school the remainder of a farm which had been granted to him by Salem, but not surveyed.

1688, Jan. 20. Breathing his last amid the influences, which crowned his life, the same benefactor, besides his other literary bequests, left £50 to the same school. This donation was made to lessen the charge of tuition.

1691. An interesting notice is contained in a Boston Almanack. It relates to the New England Primer of a second edition then in press. The purpose of this little book in our schools is denoted by its name. It is represented as being enlarged with more directions for spelling, the prayer of Edward VI., and the verses said to have been written by John Rogers, the martyr. One edition of it, issued at Providence, 1774, has a likeness of George III., another at Hartford, Conn., 1777, has the portrait of Samuel Adams, and a third, at Boston, of the same year, has a profile of John Hancock. As well known, such a work, of far more utility than size, contained the catechisms of John Cotton, printed 1656, and of the Westminster Assembly. How far it resembled the Primer of Great Britain, which existed before our fathers came to America, is not known to the writer. Locke, the philosopher,



mentions a book of this name, in his writings. One called the Royal Primer was common here in 1759. In one form or another, it was probably used in the primary schools of New England from its first settlement till within a half century.

Here we are reminded of other books, once considered indispensable, but long since laid aside. The Horn book seems to have been of a simpler plan than the Primer. It was so called because of its horn covers. Shakespeare spake of it as the teacher of boys in his day. It was employed, for a like purpose, in Massachusetts, 90 years ago. It gave rise to an ancient remark, as expressive of ignorance, "he does not know his horn book." This is equivalent to a more modern saying, "he does not know his letters."

Another book, easily imported, was "the English Schoole Master," a 15th edition of which was printed in London, 1624. Its main object was to teach correct reading. The Psalter was long employed for a similar purpose. Under different modifications, it was known in Europe prior to the colonization of our territory. One, styled the New England Psalter of 1784, has the psalms of David, the proverbs of Solomon, the sermon of Christ on the Mount and the Nicene creed. It was advertised in Salem, 1771. It was read, in some Massachusetts schools, to 1793. The Testament and Bible appear to have been read in our schools, for the most part, from their first formation. A bare hint to exclude them from this use would have alarmed our fathers, as treason, to say the least, against the claims of Protestantism.

Among our earliest Arithmetics was James Hod-

der's. A 28th edition of his was printed in London, 1719. Of the aids to study Geography were the works of G. Meriton, printed in London, 1679, of Laurence Eachard, issued there in a third impression, 1693, and other authors.

Of our ancient English Dictionaries was E. Coles's, published in London, 1692, and another of John Bolloker, the ninth edition of which was printed in London, 1695.

For the Latin language, there was John Brinsley's *Accidence*, by question and answer, first issued 1611-12. Another called, "Directions for young Latinists," printed in London, 1639. An American publication by Ezekiel Cheever, called the *Accidence*, and printed about 1650, was long noted for such a study. Hoole's *Accidence*, 1681. For the Greek, there was the *Westminster Grammar* of 1671, and other like works. In the Hebrew, was the grammar of William Schickard, issued 1623, and of Buxtorf, printed before 1629. With this view of some books for different branches of education within the first century of our Commonwealth, we pass on to a later period.

1694. Each able scholar of the town paid 15/ a year at the Grammar school; 1697, paid 12/ in money, and, 1698, paid 19/.

1698, March 15. The village ask aid in support of their school.

1699, March 1. Samuel Whitman, who came from Hull, succeeded Mr. Eppes in the Grammar school.

May 9. The town in their communication to the selectmen, said, "you shall giue y<sup>e</sup> Gramer school-

master such instructions and directions, as you shall think needfull for regulation of y<sup>e</sup> schoole."

June 26. The selectmen ordered that Mr. Whitman have £50 salary in money, each scholar to pay 12<sup>d</sup> a month, and what this lacked should be made up to him out of the funds "sett apart for y<sup>e</sup> Grammer school."

Aug. 25. They concluded to call John Emerson of Charlestown as successor to Mr. Whitman; to teach Greek and Latin, writing, cyphering and "to perfect such in reading, as can read a chapter competently well." They were to give him £50 salary out of the funds, and what these fell short, was to be "proportioned on y<sup>e</sup> scholars by y<sup>e</sup> selectmen." A contract was made with Mr. Emerson, Sept. 23.

1700, Feb. 9. As a sample of the income for this school at the date here given, the subsequent items are presented.

Ryall Side . . . . .	£22 5 6
Baker's Island . . . . .	3
Misery Islands . . . . .	3
Beverly Ferry . . . . .	6
Interest on Wm. Brown's legacy of £50	3
Interest on Joseph Brown's legacy of £50	3
Marblehead Ferry . . . . .	18

Amount, £41 3 6

The school bell was to be rung at 7 A. M., and 5 P. M. from March 1 to Nov. 1, at 8 A. M. and 4 P. M. from Nov. 1 to March 1, and "y<sup>e</sup> school to begin and end accordingly." The selectmen, in order to proportion the balance, due Mr. Emerson, gave the ensuing facts. He had 20 scholars. For the first

quarter of his tuition, each scholar was to pay 3/, and, in future, when the pupils are 20 and under, 3/, when 25, 2/6, when 30, 2/, and when 40 and more, 1/6. If any surplus, from this source, it should be for the use of the school.

1700, May 20. Voted that the inhabitants, without the bridge, have £15 annually, for three years, towards "learning their children to read, write and cipher." Grants, in this direction, as comprising Ryall Side, Middle Precinct and the Village, were continually made. John Cromwell, who died this year, indicated his judicious and benevolent regard for our community, in a bequest of £20 in money, for a writing and cyphering school. He ordered this sum to be laid out in land and increased until such a school should be set up.

1701, May 30. The village had chosen a committee to hire a school master for their children.

1708. Among the several gifts of Benjamin Brown, who closed a useful life this year, was £60, the income of which was to pay for indigent boys at the Grammar school. This money was estimated at 8<sup>s</sup> for an ounce of silver.

1712, March 10. As Mr. Emerson had died, a committee are chosen "to procure a suitable Grammar school master for y<sup>e</sup> instructing of youth in Grammar learning and to fitt them for y<sup>e</sup> Colledge and also to learn them to write and cipher and to perfect them in reading." Thus we have notice of the first Board, who were kept distinct from our selectmen, to superintend the concerns of education. They commenced the separate records of such a new organization. It

was composed of Samuel Browne, Josiah Walcot, Stephen Sewall, John Higginson, Jun., and Walter Price. Their duties are among the highest of society and, properly discharged, contribute to some of its best interests. The election of a similar body had been "some time practiced" in Boston, "agreeably to usage in England."

June 16. It was voted, that the old watch house should be used for a writing school.

25th. John Barnard of Boston began to keep the Grammar school at £50 a year.

Sept. 1. Nathaniel Higginson commenced the school for reading, writing and cyphering "in the north end of the town," at £30 a year. Boys, in each of the schools, except those unable, paid 8' apiece for a year's instruction. In looking over a list of them, we are reminded, that a larger proportion of the indigent scholars became distinguished than of the others.

24th. Under this date, we have an account of our resources towards the support of the two schools within the town bridge.

LATIN SCHOOL.

Rent of Ryall side . . . . .	£22 5 6
Dixey's Ferry . . . . .	3
Massoy's " . . . . .	10
Baker's Island . . . . .	3
Philppen & Plokering for land at Burying Point . . . . .	8
Money at Interest, £250, at 6 per cent . . . . .	15 10 9½
Rent of Miseries . . . . .	3
	<hr/>
	£57 4 3½

## WRITING SCHOOL.

Rent of 70 acres to Felton . . . .	£1 15 3
" Land adjoining to it . . . .	1 4
" of Mr. Hurst for Thrasher's house . .	5
" " Joseph Southwich . . . .	2
" " Gamaliel Hodges for land . . . .	5
" " Thomas Bell . . . .	2 6
" " Mibill Bacon for Burying Point . .	1 8
" " Tarbell and Putnam's land by Phelps's	12
John Cromwell's money, £55, at interest at	
6 per cent . . . .	3 6
	<hr/>
	£8 19 9

It will be perceived, that the Cromwell bequest had been considerably enlarged.

Dec. 16. The people at the village, voted £5 to "widow Catherine Dealland," for teaching school among them, and invited her to do the same service, another year, for the like sum. She accepted.

1713, March 9. The committee, perceiving that 2' a quarter for each boy of the Latin and English schools, in the body of the town, was insufficient, agreed that it should be 2/6 in money, payable at the commencement of the term. Every "scholar that goes in the winter, to find three feet of wood, or to pay to their masters 4/6 in money, to purchase wood withal."

Sept. 25. Obadiah Ayres succeeded Mr. Barnard in the Grammar school at the same compensation. The latter took another school in Boston.

1714, Nov. 8. Samuel Andrews gave a receipt as an instructor at the village.

Dec. 23. Francis Drake was approved by the selectmen "for teaching y<sup>e</sup> mathematics, writing, etc." in Salem.



1716, Feb. 14. Departing this life, William Brown left £100 to the Grammar school. The interest of this sum was to be used for lessening the price of tuition there.

1716, March 12. Allowed £4, for the year, towards the support of a reading, writing and cyphering school at Will Hill, now in Middleton.

April 2. John Swinnerton began, 25th ult. to keep the English school by the town house, at the usual compensation.

June 25. Samuel Andrews commenced teaching the Grammar school, on the terms of his predecessor.

1717, Feb. 6. To accommodate the former school with a stove, the town paid £8 2 1.

1718, July. As the Grammar school was destitute of an instructor, and the town liable to prosecution therefor, they sent off Mr. Pratt, on horse back, to Cambridge, so that their deficiency might be supplied. On this emergency, Col. Samuel Brown, of the kindred whose benevolence always throbbed quick and strong for the honor of Naumikeag, lent 18' to meet the expenses.

23d. The result of this flurry in the concerns of our education, was, that John Nutting took the place of Mr. Andrews. At this time, there were 54 pupils under Mr. Swinnerton.

1719, April 14. John Brown deceased and left £25 for the Grammar school.

June 16. The will of William Pauldon was proved and designated £5 for the same object.

1724, Jan. 10. The village school master was to instruct, one month at a time, in four different places,

namely, at Will Hill and three positions "in the plantation."

April 18. Receipt of John Gerrish for teaching three months at the village, £6.

May 18. Daniel Wilkins paid for a month's similar duty at Will Hill, £2.

June 9. Order for John Maul to pay £8, which his father left as a bequest to the town, £3 of which were specified for the writing school.

1725, March 15. John Gerrish succeeds Mr. Swinnerton in the English school. A grant was made to the latter of £10 annually, for three years, from the school funds.

1727, Nov. 6. Ordered by the selectmen, that £17 10, be granted to Mr. Gerrish for two years, ending March 15 of this year. These sums were paid him besides his stipulated salary.

1729, March 13. Mr. Nutting had an addition of £20 annually made to his compensation for five years to come. This with the £70, which he previously had, made his salary £90. The average number of his pupils, for a year, was  $39\frac{1}{2}$ . The town meeting, on this day, was unusually propitious to the cause of education in Salem. The influence, which chiefly presided over those convened, emanated from a member of the family, who had often shed pleasure through the hearts of their townsmen, by generous words and deeds. Samuel Brown was the moderator. He presented the several articles for discussion, with the consciousness and mein of a man, whose purposes and actions are of an elevated order. When he reached the line of his docket, where his eye caught the topic

of schools, a chord was touched in his soul, which discoursed in tones, that harmonized with the best sympathies of himself and audience. He spoke of the duty, incumbent on the inhabitants to make ready and cheerful provision for the instruction of their children and of what the good laws of the Province enjoined on them for such a purpose. Then, as a manifestation of his own views and wishes on the subject, he desired the town to accept of £240 for three specific objects. These were particularized by his instrument of gift, in the following terms. "Samuel Brown grants unto the Grammar school in Salem, to be kept in or near the town house street, £120 passable money,<sup>1</sup> to make the same a free school, or towards the educating of eight or ten poor scholars, yearly, in the Grammar learning or the mathematics, viz: the mariner's art; the interest thereof to be improved only for that end forever, as a committee, chosen by the town of Salem, for the taking care of said school may direct, with the advice of the minister or ministers of the first church and myself or children or two of the chief of their posterity." Mr. Brown then stated, that he gave £60 to the English school so that its income might be applied "towards making the same a free school, or for learning six poor scholars;" and a like sum "to a woman's school, the interest thereof to be yearly improved for the learning of six very poor children their letters and to spell and read, who may be sent to said school six or seven months in the year." He required, that the two last dona-

<sup>1</sup> As passable money is supposed to mean current bills, it was then worth 18s. for 1 oz. of silver.

tions should be managed by the same trustees as the first. When Mr. Brown had announced his intention, the selectmen, for themselves and the town, "did immediately signify their gratefull acceptance and hearty thanks for so generous and honorable a gift." Judge Lynde expressed his obligations and asked "liberty to call for a vote of thanks from the whole assembly, which accordingly was done, by a very cheerful lifting up of hands, none excepted."

In keeping with the part, so agreeably performed, Benjamin Lynde, Jr., gave substantial proof of his good will to the place of his residence. Having been voted £12 for a year's service, as Town Treasurer, he returned this with the addition of £8, so that the interest might help sustain the Grammar school. Such an act was met with the return of grateful feelings and expressions. No one, as he retired to his home from such transactions and pillowed his head for the repose of night, could be disturbed with the reflection, "I have lost a day." The doings of that annual assembly, were worthy of a life's recollection.

1731, March 15. It was voted, that whatever Messrs. Curwin and Turner should pay for the town's fee in Baker's and Misery Islands, should be for the use of the Grammar school. For such a consideration, each of these persons paid £130 in bills of credit, then at 19s for an oz. of silver.

May 16. Mr. Brown, living but a few years after his last gift to our schools, now closed his days. Still he kindly remembered these nurseries of knowledge among other objects of his beneficent regard. He bequeathed £150 to them, on the conditions of his

preceding donations. This sum was appropriated, as follows: £50 for the Latin, £50 for the English and £50 for the woman's school.

1733, Jan. 24. The Grammar school had 36 and the English school 30 scholars.

March 19. The avails of land, leased to John Tarbell and now sold to Joseph Orne, were set apart for the use of the writing school.

1734, March 18. A principal reason, assigned by the village for their frequent proposal to be set off from Salem, was their "want of power to raise money for keeping a school" among them. A report was made, "that the town raise by a tax so much with the annual income, appropriated to the Grammar and Writing schools, as shall amount to £250 in Province Bills of the present value, exclusive of the bequests of particular gentlemen," and that the middle Precinct, Ryall Side and the Village shall draw from this sum according to their Province tax. These particulars were accepted. The value of the paper-money, here mentioned, was in the ratio of 24<sup>s</sup> for an oz. of silver.

1738, Feb. 13. Of £250, raised on such terms, Ryall Side<sup>1</sup> had £12 9, Village £36 15, and Middle Precinct £44 18, and the two schools, within the bridge, £155 18.

1743, May 11. Voted that the Latin and English schools be united under a master and usher, which was revoked in three years. Each Latin scholar paid 5<sup>s</sup> a quarter and each English scholar 2/6 a quarter.

<sup>1</sup> The particular sums vary from those of another account.

1746, May 24. Mr. Nutting had £140, paper currency and Mr. Gerrish £40 a quarter. Such money then passed at 37<sup>s</sup> for an oz. of silver.

1747, Sept. 27. Peter Frye succeeds John Nutting in the Grammar school, at a salary of £75, lawful money.

1748, March 25. John Gerrish is succeeded in the English school by William Gale. When the former left, his salary was about £80 lawful money.

Aug. Mr. Leavit's church had lately contributed money towards the tuition of our poor children.

1751, June 24. Jonathan Sewall takes the place of Peter Frye in the Grammar school.

July 26. Mr. Gale had 57 scholars under his care, and Mr. Frye, the preceding Feb. 11, had 56.

1752, March 9. After the first of May, all boys, who go to the Grammar school must study Latin as well as read, write and cypher. Each of them was to pay 6/ a quarter. Abijah Hart chosen to assist Mr. Gale and begin May 4, at £40 salary.

1753, Aug. 12. Mr. Gale leaves his place. Mr. Hart succeeds him, and, 28th, William Jeffry becomes his assistant, for £26 3 4, a year.

1755, Aug. 9. Mr. Jeffry resigns, and, Sept. 16, is succeeded by Nehemiah Northey.

1756, July 12. Mr. Sewall relinquishes the Grammar school, and, 19, his situation is taken by William Walter.

1757, April 30. Mr. Northey declines longer service, and, May 9, is succeeded by James Ford, at £53 6 8 salary, who, next day, receives Ebenezer Bowditch, Jr., to help him, for £40 a year.



1758, Sept. 6. Mr. Walter gives up his station, which, Oct. 8, is supplied by Daniel Eppes.

1759, Sept. 7. The latter retires and has his place filled by Nathan Goodale.

1760, Feb. 21. Mr. Ford's pay is enlarged to £66 13 4 for twelve months.

May 19. A school house is to be erected, not on the same spot of the old one, in "school house lane." This new building stood where the late Court house did, and was made of brick.

1761, Nov. 10. Mr. Bowditch leaves the English school.

1762, Aug. 28. He is followed there by Ames Cheever at £10 a quarter.

1763, Jan. 27. Mr. Cheever relinquishes teaching.

June 20. His place is filled by Samuel Gale.

1764, May 16. Order for \$50 to be drawn from the Treasury to pay for learning the poorest children to read at women's schools.

1767, March 9. A committee of the English school are empowered to expend the same sum for a like purpose. Persons are appointed to inquire how many such children have been instructed by female teachers, within three years, with an expectation of being paid by the town. Mr. Goodale is to have £13 6 8 quarterly from the town and 6<sup>s</sup> from each of his scholars.

May 18. By this date, Samuel Gale, as usher of the English school, had left, and Edward Norris, Jr., appears to have become his successor. Messrs. Ford and Norris petition, the next year, for an increase of their compensation.

1770, Jan. 1. Daniel Hopkins, afterwards settled here in the ministry, has leave to open a private school for reading, writing and arithmetic. A teacher in one of the public schools, recently taught in the evening on his own account.

Dec. 6. Town schools to begin in the morning at 7 o'clock in summer, and 8 o'clock in winter; at 1 o'clock all the year round, and leave off at 5 o'clock in summer and 4 in winter. Vacations at general election, commencement day and rest of that week, fasts, thanksgivings, trainings, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Among the regulations of the town for their instructors, is one on the subject of punishing scholars, which has always perplexed teachers, committees and parents. It judiciously observes of each master and his pupils, "that when he is obliged to correct them, he do it calmly and endeavor to make such correction dreaded more on account of the shame, than the pain attending it."

7th. Mr. Goodale, having resigned the Grammar school yesterday, is succeeded by James Diman, Jr. The former of these two individuals, is represented, in a letter of Deacon Timothy Pickering, 1765, as a talented man and an ingenious preacher.

1771, Feb. 12. Widow Abigail Fowler, a noted "school dame," finished her earthly labors. She was in her 68th year and began to teach children before she was 18, and continued so to do till her decease, with the exception of a few years after she was married. Though humble her calling, yet its effects on the numerous minds committed to her care, must have been incalculable.

1772, July. Charles Shimmin advertises to instruct children and youth in the rudiments of English, with book-keeping, geography, astronomy, etc. The next December, besides his proposal to keep an evening school, he offers the free instruction of geometry, for an hour each day, to all who will punctually attend, "demonstrating the propositions with the greatest perspicuity, chiefly by a new and easy method of reasoning by proportional quantities." This gentleman died in Boston, 1789, æt. 40, eminent as a teacher.

Oct. 19. Antipas Steward, from Harvard College, follows Mr. Diman in having charge of the Grammar school, at £66 13 4 a year.

1773, March 8. One or more stoves to be obtained for the town schools.

26th. Mrs. Mary Gill is the keeper of the girl's school.

April 5. John Watson notifies, that he shall open school, in a few days, where he will teach reading, writing and cyphering.

20th. Mr. Norris, one of the town instructors, advertises to commence a school for young ladies, beginning at the hours of 11 and 5 o'clock, where they will learn to write and cypher.

27th. Elizabeth Gaudin opened a school yesterday in Derby street, to instruct young ladies in plain sewing, marking tent and Irish stitch. She also proposes to take some misses as boarders.

27th. Notice is given, that applications will be received for the instruction of nine poor boys by the income of the Brown fund.

June 7. The boys, of indigent families, who attend

the masters' schools, but are not fitted, are to be placed under the care of female teachers, with other children of like condition, so that the whole expense of them shall not exceed £30. This is a small sum indeed compared with what our community now generously and wisely pays for its primary schools.

1773, Dec. 18. Mr. Steward will teach, at the Grammar school house, from the next Jan. 1, to April 1, six poor youth the "mariner's art," and as many indigent lads to write and cypher, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings. His compensation to come from the Brown donations. Such parents, as desire their children to improve the privilege, are requested to call on the school committee.

1774, July 18. Samuel Blythe proposes to keep a boarding school for females, near the Episcopal church, where will be taught the branches, which had been common, with French and dancing.

1775, Oct. 14. The town, depressed by adversities of the Revolution, had voted, that the amount of the school masters' salaries should be reduced to £133 6 8 L. M. Mr. Steward's portion £48 9 4, Mr. Ford's the same, and Mr. Norris's £36 8 4.

1781, Dec. 12. Timothy Dawson teaches one of the English schools. He appears to have taken the place of Mr. Ford, who died the preceding June 27.

1782, June 17. Belcher Noyes succeeds Mr. Steward in the Grammar school. John Gray is employed by the town as an English teacher.

Oct. 3. Mr. Bartlett states that he shall instruct young ladies in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, composition and history.

Nov. 4. John Nutting, Jr., intends to begin a mathematical school.

1783, June 12. Nathan Reed has commenced a school near the town house, for young ladies, for reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, elocution, composition and geography. This gentleman became noted for his mechanical science and inventions. He is still living in Maine. When he resigned his school, it went into the hands of the late Judge Jeremiah Smith of Exeter, N. H., while a student at law under Mr. Pyncheon.

1784, Sept. 17. David Walch is an instructor in one of our public schools for English.<sup>1</sup>

1785, March 14. The inhabitants voted, that the Centre school house should be 24 by 36 feet, and that the members of the Library pay for such a proportion of its cost, as they shall occupy room.

July 22. The school committee are empowered to hire places for the Grammar school, and for the English schools at the centre, east and west sections of the town. They are, also, authorized to have the brick school house taken down to accommodate the new Court house.

Nov. 18. Edward Norris is continued over the centre, John Watson is appointed for the eastern and Isaac Hacker for the western schools. Mr. Watson accepted, but continued for a short time. His associations had been long with a private school and he

<sup>1</sup> As the former book of records kept by the school committee are again missing, the writer is unable to have the benefit of them from 1784 to 1803, if they proceed so far.

found, that his predilections for it were so strong, as to render the oversight of his new one very irksome. Mr. Snelling, who was an apprentice in a store, was employed as his assistant. This gentleman has long been noted as the writing master in the Latin school of Boston. For several months after Mr. Watson returned to his private school, Mr. Snelling and Rev. William Bentley had charge of the east school. The latter person, with his accustomed benevolence and regard for the general welfare, offered his services, until another principal could be obtained. The fore part of next year, Edward Lang, who had established himself as a silversmith, took his station.

1786, Jan. 9. John Gray advertises, that he has begun a school for reading, writing and arithmetic, near Mr. Prince's meeting house.

1788, Feb. 15. Messrs. Noyes, Norris, Lang and Hacker address a petition to the town. It says, "the exhausted state of the Treasury, for these three years past, has reduced us to the necessity of selling our orders from 10 to 15 and, sometimes, from 20 to 25 per cent below par." They remark, that, as a consequence, their salaries are insufficient to support them, and desire allowance for such depreciation. The low credit of our municipal scrip, was chiefly occasioned by the taxes, imposed on this and every community of the nation, to help reduce an immense debt for the Revolutionary struggle. Men of all avocations in life were called to endure heavy burdens.

An anecdote of about this date illustrates the scarcity of money. A noted school mistress seldom received aught for her trying labors but family stores



usually called *truck*. Hence, when purchasing country provisions, she was obliged to offer what she had in exchange. For this object, she placed one of her pupils, being females, at the window, every Saturday forenoon, to look out for the market people, and ask them if they would take *truck* for their produce. One of the scholars told her mates, that she would no longer serve in this manner after her next turn. They questioned her, but she said time will show. Accordingly she was located at the window with express orders, to put the usual inquiry. Soon a farmer, on horseback, with paniers of articles to sell, hove in sight. The miss hailed him and asked, have you any butter, mister? Yes, was his answer. Then, instead of conformity with the Dame's command, she said, do you take *cash*? Oh, yes, he quickly rejoined. On hearing this strange colloquy, the mistress, with no measured step, hastened and pulled the offending pupil from her station of honor, and declared, that she should no more be intrusted with such a commission.

June 9. James Scollay begins to instruct boys and girls in arithmetic and book-keeping.

Dec. 2. Samuel Bingham intends to commence a school for both sexes, at 9<sup>a</sup> a quarter.

1791, Jan. 18. I. Fraser proposes to begin a school for common branches of education, and, also, to teach these in private families, with book-keeping, navigation, geography, mathematics, Latin and Greek languages.

Dec. 6. William Gray notifies the public, that he

will teach both sexes, reading, writing and arithmetic in Mr. Blaney's chamber.

1792, July 3. Butler Fogerty had recently given up a school to become clerk of Essex Bank; but March 25, 1794, he gives notice, that he shall resume the business of instruction in the common branches and, also, book-keeping.

1793, March 11. The inhabitants authorize the school committee to provide at the writing schools or elsewhere, for the tuition of girls in reading, writing and cyphering. This appears to be the beginning of the additional service, useful but onerous, long required of our English masters.

April 16. Mr. Frye has begun a school for misses in Court street, to instruct them in writing, arithmetic, English grammar and geography.

1794, April 8. A merchant has offered to pay for teaching sixty young seamen of Salem, the art of navigation, while the embargo lasts. Three well qualified instructors have been selected for this purpose. Such charity bespoke a heart, that felt its obligations to a class, too much neglected, and a mind, that had clear views of commercial interests.

May 20. Price of teaching French, is \$5 a quarter.

1796, March 14. Voted that each English master have a salary of £150 and find ink, and, April 4th, that the Grammar master have £130.

July 19. A notice of the town schools having been examined, speaks of John Gray as master of the centre school and of Nathaniel Rogers as master of the Grammar school, who had succeeded Thomas Bancroft. As if more than a usual outlay for the free

instruction of females had been recently made by the town, it states that schools for young girls have been opened.

1797, Feb. 14. Mr. Rogers advertises, that he will open a private school, in Liberty street, for the English, French, Latin, and Greek languages, etc. at 18<sup>s</sup> a quarter. His place in the Grammar school, was supplied by David Kendall, who resigned 1798, and Daniel Parker was his successor.

June 23. William Biglow proposes to open a school here. On the list of studies, under him, were grammar and geography. He was long distinguished for his able and successful labors as a teacher in this community.

1798, March 27. Mr. Jackson notifies, that he shall have a morning school, from 6 to 8 o'clock, for young ladies, in the common and higher studies.

Thus far, notices of the various sorts of schools, have been particularly given, so that an idea might be formed as to the progress of education in this community. Collectively viewed, they show, that, even down to this period, what was once untaught among our predecessors, had become common. Relative to the modes of instructing the young, whether full as the pecuniary condition of our fathers might have allowed, whether suited to the intellectual and moral wants of the teachable class or not, the facts will enable each person to judge for himself. The subsequent remarks on private and public schools, in several respects, must be more general.

1800, July 11. Among the appendages of Mr. Biglow's school, was a military company, who now ap-

pear, called the Trojan Band, whose uniform was nankeen and whose discipline was superior. This was a very popular concern with all the boys in town.

1801, April 13. Notice is published, that writing, arithmetic, English grammar, composition and geography are to be taught in the Grammar school, besides Latin and Greek. A similar improvement was adopted in 1796 under Mr. Rogers.

May 2. The inhabitants are informed, that three public schools, for children of both sexes and not less than five years old, are opened. The alphabet, spelling and reading are taught in them. Mrs. Holman has one in Lynn street, Mrs. Lamperel, another in Church street, and Miss Carlton, a third in the East school house. A fourth mistress appears to have been employed. This was a needful and wise advance.

Sept. 17. Mrs. Brown from London, intends to open a Female Academy for the common and higher studies.

1802, March 30. Mrs. Abigail Rogers proposes to establish a similar institution. Her enterprise was eminently successful.

Desirous to afford their sons the privileges of a school with few pupils, under a teacher of high character and attainments and subject to their immediate control, and willing to pay for so valuable an object, William Gray, Benjamin Pickman and others concluded to have such an establishment. Accordingly it was opened,<sup>1</sup> January 1, 1803, under Jacob Knapp. He taught first in a chamber of Joshua Ward's brick store. Early next summer a school house was built

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Jacob Knapp, Esq.

for him, placed on Mrs. Buffinton's garden, Church street, and, about four years after, was moved to a spot, near the Mall, now occupied by the mansion of John Andrew, deceased. The concern, so commenced, continued, with much success, till Mr. Knapp's departure in 1811. The number of scholars was limited to 30. For the three first years, his salary was \$1,200 and, afterwards, \$2,000. This enterprise might seem too exclusive for our Republican institutions. Still, while it made greater room in the public schools, and, consequently rendered them more useful, it promoted the cause of education and required no more for its undertakers, through their children, than they had a right to obtain with their own property. According to the gifts of Providence, so are we bound to make the best use of them in all our relations. Want of wealth should never render us unwilling, that its possessors should make a good investment of it in the furtherance of instruction. The school, thus considered, was the forerunner of similar ones, which have terminated by revolutions in our system of public education.

1803, April 15. Each of the four school mistresses, employed by the town, to instruct children, is to have a salary of \$100 and 4 cords of wood.

Aug. 29. Boys, in the public schools, taught by masters, number 213.

1804, March 14. The Latin master's salary is placed at \$700, though settled for at \$685 49, and that of each English master at \$650. Their pay for a year, and \$400 for the four mistresses was \$2,285 49. A comparison of their compensation with that of the

clergy in town, made the latter individually, receive on an average, \$685 49 a year.

Aug. 26. The school committee decide, that four of the best scholars in each public school for boys, shall have some token of approbation. This was carried into effect a few years. The number in these schools was 228, who were examined together in the Court house.

1806, Aug. 28. In connection with some remarks on an examination of such schools, it is stated, that "the number of private schools greatly exceeds that of the public schools." With regard to private English schools, aside from those for singing, French, etc. which were advertised, for several years, as about to commence, they were as follow. Not less than two male and one female in 1801, three and one 1802, two and two 1803, three and two 1804, three and three 1805, and five and three 1806. Though a large part of these were temporary, yet with the permanent ones, previously established, they confirm the statement just quoted.

1807, March 23. A report is made for a school house in North Fields.

May 12. William B. Dodge, who opened a private school three years before among us, is chosen master for this section of the town. Such a division of our city had seen various changes, since the days of its being a propriety, but none more promising for their children, than the planting of public instruction on their premises.

A committee are appointed to confer with Rev. Joshua Spaulding about commencing a school for col-



ored children. So just a provision was made and Chloe Minns was long the teacher.

That the western section of the town might command privileges for the tuition of boys, whose parents could meet the cost, equal to those in the eastern, a school, named the Salem Private Grammar School, on the plan of Mr. Knapp's, began October 7, 1807, under Benjamin Tappan. His salary was \$900 the first year and \$1,050 the next. The scholars ranged from 25 to 30. The school house was two stories and pleasantly located mid-way between Chesnut and Green streets, on a lot, now in the garden of Stephen C. Phillips. It had a library and some philosophical apparatus. Its other preceptors, in succession, were Josiah W. Gibbs, Abiel Chandler, John B. Davis, Samuel B. Walcott, Walter R. Johnson and John Balch. Their compensation, generally, was \$1,000. Mr. Chandler taught from 1811 to 1817, a longer period than the rest. His compensation was \$1,200 the first year, and \$1,600 annually for the rest of his time. The school, after sustaining a high reputation for its usefulness, was closed March 22, 1822. Such a termination was caused chiefly by the excellence of the public Latin school.

Besides these two schools, there were several others on a similar plan. The eldest of them had different locations near the Mall and was instructed by Messrs. Robert Rogers and Benjamin Tappan, Abiel Chandler, Samuel Adams, Joseph E. Worcester, Joseph B. Felt and Richard Gardner. The rise of our public education was their decline and close.

A further notice of all the private schools. as they

appear in our public prints, would be well, if our space allowed. But it must be omitted, with the regret, that leave is not asked for their commencement of our city authorities, as formerly, so that a record of them might stand on our public books.

1808, March 8. The amount paid for the town's teachers, one year, is \$3,462 11.

June 6. As more than common advantages had been secured for boys in private schools in town, this led to the conclusion that similar provision should be made for the other sex. Accordingly, an institution for young ladies, was opened in Marlborough street, under the charge of Thomas Cole. Its particular name was, "The Salem Female School." It was under the direction of proprietors, who limited its number of pupils to twenty-five. So superior was the furniture of its building, and of so high an order were its studies, that it was the subject of general conversation and by some, who regarded it as too aristocratic, it was called "The Girl's College." The salary of the preceptor, at first, was \$1,000 and afterwards, \$1,200 permanently. Several months after he took this school, in 1834, on his own account, his health being much enfeebled, he transferred it to the present General Oliver. This was a laudable experiment, never before equalled in Salem, for the advance of female education. The high promise, which it gave, was long realized.

1810, Aug. 2. Mr. Lang resigns the East school, which he had taught over 23 years. His place is supplied by Dr. Daniel Berry.

22d. In the five masters' schools of the town there are 359 boys.

Dec. 6. Moses Stevens is elected to instruct the Grammar school, relinquished by Daniel Parker. The latter gentleman soon began a private school in town.

1812, June 11. In the four public schools for English, there are 465 boys, and 295 girls. The latter attended, as usual, an hour at noon and another in the afternoon. The Grammar school has 40 pupils. The ancient custom of having prayers and an address from clergymen, at the annual examination of the town schools, is still continued. A practice most likely to promote education by motives of duty in teacher and taught. There appear to have been seven women's schools supported by the town.

1813, Dec. 10. The decease of Mrs. Mary Holman, æt. 71, is contained in one of our newspapers. She had spent many years as a school mistress. Usefulness was her merited fame.

1814, June. Salem Female Charitable school is set up by an association of young women. It was open for girls from all the religious societies.

Aug. 28. As Mr. Hacker was out of health, and wished to relinquish his employment, the school committee speak highly of his instruction, in the west of the town, for the long period of 29 years. He had ample opportunity to test the remark, that the care of scholars either lessens or increases a man's patience. The result was favorable to his reputation. Edward Sawyer is elected to sustain the trust, which he so creditably laid down.

1815, July. Another Charity school is formed by females of the first and north parishes. Its privileges were equally wide as those of its predecessor.

1816, April 18. As an addition to the spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic of the English schools, under masters, employed by the town, grammar and geography are required to be taught. This was an improvement, highly beneficial to many boys, who were to come forward, exert much influence, and have a large share of the management in our municipal affairs. It bespoke a wise oversight in the gentlemen, intrusted with our public instruction. Before an advance of this sort, the larger portion of our prominent townsmen, educated in the public schools, betrayed, in their speech and composition, a want of grammatical acquaintance with their native tongue. This was more their regret, than of those, who perceived such deficiency. It did not induce them to confine the younger portion of community in the same bounds, to which they had been accustomed, but to throw open the gates of knowledge wider, so that the mind of their posterity might be more enlightened.

A deficiency of this kind had existed, to a great extent, in the free schools of New England. Since it has begun to be supplied, the wonder is, that it was ever suffered to exist. Next to the acquisition of reading, should be that of grammatical acquaintance with our vernacular tongue. As prior to such reform, the English language was allowed, on all hands, to have been spoken and written with greater purity in New England, than in any other division of our Republic,

we may well hope, that, since it has taken place, this compliment will be full as much deserved.

1817, Aug. 26. In the public schools for boys, there are 406 scholars.

Sept. 1. Amory Felton takes the place of John Gray in the Centre school. The latter gentleman had held this station over twenty years. In this period, he faithfully performed much service for the benefit of hundreds under his tuition. He soon opened a private school.

1818, March 24. Mr. Stevens being about to leave the Latin school, advertises that he shall open another the next month, on his own account. His station, in the former, was filled by James Day, at \$1,000 a year.

April 25. It is ordered that each of the mistresses, to be chosen for the two vacant schools, have \$150 salary. James S. Gerrish is selected to supply the place of Samuel Preston in East school.

June 16. Voted to erect a school house in Broad street on land of the former Alms house.

29th. Agreed to purchase the Duck Factory, on the spot needed for this building, and the remaining lease of its premises.

July 1. Regulations for the public schools allow vacations as follow ; one week at Election, another at Commencement, and a third at Thanksgiving, a day at Regimental muster, one at Christmas and another on Independent day, besides the customary Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. This was a very liberal allowance to the scholars, compared with what their predecessors had enjoyed. It must have been a memorable change with the boys who passed into its liberties.

July 28. As Mr. Sawyer wished to retire from the West school, Frederick Emerson is chosen in his stead.

Aug. 22. At an examination of the public school for boys in the Town Hall, the Latin had 39, East 149; Centre, 120; West, 90, and North, 92; equal to 490.

1819, April 19. The Latin school, transferred to the building prepared for it in Broad street, commences there under James Day, as principal, and Moses Clark, as usher. Its whole appearance indicated a more favorable era for education in our community.

The edifice, so appropriated, is of brick,  $33\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad and 50 long. It cost \$10,000. Its model is pleasant to the eye of taste, and its purpose cheering to the heart of philanthropy.

April 30. An order passed for a school house to be erected in South Fields.

May 8. Scholars in the Latin school 86, in the West, 132; North, 100; Central, 160; and East, 165; equal to 643.

June 3. As Mr. Clark had desired to be released, Thomas Henry Oliver<sup>1</sup> succeeds him at \$600 salary.

21st. Daniel Parker is chosen as an additional assistant to Mr. Day. A remonstrance of the English masters on the subject of intermediate schools for girls is presented. With such a burden, there is no wonder that they prayed for its removal. They had a task with their many male pupils, enough to wear down iron constitutions. Not that the females should have less of such tuition but more, though in a different mode.

<sup>1</sup> Changed by act of Legislature in 1821, to Henry Kemble Oliver.



July 23. Joseph Lancaster<sup>1</sup> delivers a lecture in the evening, at the Tabernacle, to a large and gratified audience, on his system of instruction. He lectured a few times more, not all in immediate succession, on the same topic, which he greatly appreciated for its benefit in imparting a knowledge of elementary instruction to many, at small expense.

Aug. 23. William Carnes, who had taught a private school, is elected instructor of the South school. Thus a section of our city, once appropriated to agriculture and pasturage, had so altered its condition, as to afford population enough for a large collection of scholars. Instead of bars and gates, it presents a building to accommodate many buds of intellect, save them from the blasts of ignorance and aid them to bear fruits of useful knowledge. This is a change worthy to be welcomed, especially where talent, virtuously cultivated and employed, leads to eminence.

23d. At the annual exhibition of the public schools, the West had part of its exercises on the Lancastrian plan, which are to be continued.

Nov. 6. James Gale is appointed successor to Daniel Parker, in the English department of the Latin school, at \$500 a year, and Edwin Jocelyn for Centre school, which Mr. Felton resigns, at \$650.

1820, March 27. As the effort to advance our system of instruction, was viewed by some, as likely to embarrass the town finances, a reaction is produced. Our debt was brought forward to prove the peril. Movements of this sort, being addressed to the more

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lancaster was run over and killed in the city of New York, Oct. 22, 1838.

selfish feelings, most generally prevail. Sometimes the consequence is beneficial, but oftener detrimental, because it proceeds more frequently from a mistaken judgment of what is general good, or from sinister motives, than from any real necessity of curtailment. Accordingly, the vote, which had been passed to have a new West school house erected, for the accommodation of 250 pupils on one floor, after the plan of Lancaster, is revoked and another taken for the old one to be repaired. This change seems to have been made more from doubt of the proposed form of instruction than from other causes. The school committee are desired to inquire about the expediency of introducing the Lancasterian method.

30th. A vote is passed for retrenchment among the public teachers. From each of the masters in the English schools, \$50 is to be taken, making \$700 for the East and \$600 for the rest. From the \$150 of every mistress, \$20 are cut off, which ought to have been spared. The charge for public instruction the past year, is about \$6,600.

May 4. A committee on the Lancasterian mode, report, that it will do for spelling, reading, writing and the first rules of arithmetic, but they can recommend it no further. An account of scholars gives the Latin school 113; the Centre, 120; West, 130; North, 100; South, 130; East, 160, equal to 753, of whom 638 regularly attended. Seven primary schools are kept by women. Their scholars are of both sexes from four years old and number 490, of which 150 are boys. The globes are used in one of the English schools. There are 2,750 children in Salem from

4 to 15 years old. If taking half of them to be boys, there are 788 of these who usually attend public schools, leaving 587 who do not. Of the last number 472 do not claim to belong to any of these schools, of whom probably 225 are members of private schools. This makes 250, who are not sent to school. There has been an increase of one third in the attendants at our public schools within a few years. This speaks distinctly in favor of the improvements, which were made at the beginning of such a period.

About 1820, black boards were used in our common schools, for arithmetical calculations. Manuscripts of sums, set for the pupils by their masters, which had been continued for a long period, began to be laid aside. Thus instructors were relieved from a burden, almost useless after printed books abounded among us, and their scholars put on a course of acquiring a more thorough knowledge of figures.

Sept. 7. James Gale becomes the successor of Mr. Carnes in the South school.

21st. A new school house for the west district is to be built at a cost not above \$3,000.

Oct. 18. Daniel A. Poor is chosen as an assistant in the Latin school.

To the close of 1820 from 1806, there were not less than 75 advertisements for private English schools. Of these 40 were by masters, a few of whom taught girls, 35 by mistresses. In 1816, the year when the studies of the public schools for English, were enlarged by geography and grammar, there were seven masters, who set up private schools, but there were only eight of such for the next four years, while there were

eleven begun by mistresses in the same period. This indicates, that the town schools, so improved, had rendered private ones for boys, far less in demand than they had been. It has indeed been so ever since in an observable degree. The fact is thus established, that, notwithstanding the high schools for larger girls, the most of our families of easy condition, while disposed to have their sons instructed at the public schools, send their daughters to private schools. This preference rests in a great degree, on the probability that where there is a smaller number of pupils, as under private instructors, there will be less contact with faults in principle and deportment. For the sake of such expected benefit, the privilege of free education as to daughters, is thus properly foregone.

1821, Aug. 23. A return of pupils in all the public schools, being 14, eight of them taught by mistresses, and the rest by masters, estimates them at 1,395, of whom 1,144 are regular attendants. Of the former teachers was Mrs. Lawrence, who was colored and had long instructed the African school. She had been married. Her former name was Minns. She had 40 pupils.

Sept. 12. The town vote to have a new school house for the east district.

1822, Jan. 12. Samuel Burrill is elected to instruct in this building. Mr. Gerrish of the other school, in the east ward, proposes to resign the 15th of March. He soon opened a private school for boys.

March 7. The new town school, in Williams street, is opened under Mr. Burrill. Thus another

auxiliary is impressed into the service against the power of ignorance.

July 22. The successor of Mr. Gerrish being Mr. Peirson, leaves and is followed by Jacob Hood.

Sept. 22. Mr. Oliver, assistant in the Latin school, has \$150 added to his salary from 1st of next month.

Oct. 1. Mr. Poor who had been usher of the same school, opens a private one on his own account.

Nov. 22. Each of the mistresses, who teach intermediate schools, has \$33 33, additional compensation, for the term to 1st of April.

1823, April 26. Theodore Eames succeeds Mr. Day in the Latin school.

Aug. 9. Mr. Emerson, having resigned the West school, Oliver C. Felton takes his place.

Nov. 29. The African school to be discontinued after the close of the current year. This appears to have been the one, long kept by a colored mistress.

Dec. 13. Mr. Hood is allowed \$75 for an evening school, to instruct young men above 15 years old, whose education has been neglected. This is one of the cares for bettering the condition of society, that are out of the common course and thus the more denoting a benevolent vigilance and a wise application of the public money.

1824, March 26. Ira Cheever is elected to take charge of the South school, which Mr. Gale had relinquished. Mr. Cheever began a school here for young ladies April 15, 1822.

June 4. The salary of Mr. Eames to be \$1,200 and of Mr. Oliver \$900.

1826, March 4. Mr. Hood leaves one of the cast

schools and takes the place of Mr. Cheever, who was about to engage in a private school.

15th. Alfred Greenleaf is appointed to occupy the station of Mr. Hood.

18th. Richard Gardner is chosen to supply the place of Mr. Burrill, who was in a consumption.

April 8. A committee are to inquire about the abolition of corporal punishment in the Latin school. This has always been a perplexing subject. Most teachers, having charge of boys, in considerable numbers, some of whom are habitually disobedient, and refuse to mind at home without the rod there, know, that when once the latter are assured, that no such penalty abides their misconduct in school, its strict order is soon impaired. Still it is very desirable, that an evil of this kind, often more repulsive to the master than to the scholar, might cease wherever it can consistently with proper discipline. If it cannot be laid aside entirely, discretion, learned from patient observation and experience, should direct its application.

A vote passes to have a master's school for colored children.

May 2. To remedy a great inconvenience in the toils of public instruction, which had long existed here and elsewhere, in the want of books, suitable for the several classes, notice is given, that a deposit is open where the scholars who needed, must be supplied with them at the prime cost, with a provision, that those, unable to purchase, may be furnished at the expense of the town. This was in compliance with an act, lately passed by our General Court.

July 18. A report of the schools in Salem, fur-



nishes us with the ensuing facts. There are 17 public schools. One of these is called the Latin or Grammar school, and seven of them are usually denominated writing schools; one of which, containing 40 colored boys and girls, is kept by a colored man. They have 639 pupils. There are seven primary schools, taught by mistresses, composed of children from five years and upward, who number 457. Two other such schools, under females, are instructed the principal part of the year, one beyond Tapley's brook on the old Boston road, and the other in the upper part of Boston street. The cost of teaching our public schools is \$8,592 89 a year. The number of our private schools is 69 and the scholars in them are 1,686. The amount of tuition for the latter, is \$18,836 a year. One fifth of this sum is paid for boys and four fifths for girls and small children of both sexes. While in Boston three fifths of the money, laid out for instruction, is for that of public schools, less than one third of the sum paid in Salem on a similar account, is expended for schools of this sort. The report states the need of a classical school for boys and a high school for girls. It mentions, that one of the former sort had been connected with the Latin school, but had failed after two or three years' trial.

Aug. 10. Agreed that \$30 shall be distributed, for prizes to scholars of the Latin school, and the like amount for those of the English schools, kept by masters. Similar encouragement was given the last year. It was of short duration.

Nov. 25. A Gymnasium had been lately established on the premises of the Latin school, for the exer-

cise of its members. Such a mode of amusement was adopted by high schools and colleges far and near. It soon went down, and its disordered machinery was seen, for a time, here and there, exposed to the wasting effects of the elements.

1827, March 3. As Mr. Greanleaf had resigned, Herman Bourne of Watertown is to serve in his stead. The former begins a private school the 2d of April.

May 12. As the primary school for colored children had been terminated, and efforts were made for its restoration, a committee report, that it should not be revived.

26th. Mr. Hood, having resigned and intended to commence a private school for young ladies, is to be succeeded by Jonathan Fox Worcester. As the town had sanctioned the formation of two high schools for females and one for males, accommodation, for the latter, is to be prepared in the Latin school house. Such an addition to our privileges of instruction was important. Already has it raised the standard of thought and conversation among those, who have come under its influence. Such provision for the young is among the richest gifts, which a community can confer upon them.

June 16. Mr. Oliver is appointed principal of the boys' high school at a salary of \$1,000. The studies under him were reading, grammar, geography, Colburn's sequel, algebra, history, declamation, rhetoric and composition.

July 7. Henry I. Hamilton is elected to keep the West High School for girls, in Beckford street, and Rufus Putnam, Jr., of Beverly, the East for the same

sex, in Bath street. Each of their salaries, \$500, to begin 1st of October. The buildings for these schools, are estimated at \$1,475 apiece. Thus two of the first high schools, ever established here for females, commence their operation. Were justice rendered to the "better half" of our community; did the succession of persons, whose influence controls our municipal course, comply with a correct view of the power, exerted over every age by the position and example of females, there would be, this moment, as many public schools and of as high an order, among us, for girls as for boys. When the day comes for such an amendment of past mistake, there will be as much wonder that it was left so long unrectified, as there is now, that what has been done towards the reform, was not done before.

At this time, the tuition of females for an hour each day, during part of the year, at the masters' schools, seems to have been relinquished. Such an omission was well for those teachers and better for the girls, as it was accompanied with the substitution of schools for them all the year round.

1828, Aug. 16. Abner Brooks of Medford is elected to supply the place of Mr. Bourne.

26th. The first public examination of the Female high schools. It gave proof, that however our sisters are the weaker vessels physically, they are not so much so intellectually as some would have us believe.

1829, March 11. Corporal punishment to be discontinued in the Latin and English high schools. The cost of the public schools for the past year, is \$10,000.

Sept. 19. Jacob Hood is to succeed Mr. Worcester, who engaged in private instruction.

Oct. 31. Voted that Col. Rodriguez instruct the pupils, under Mr. Oliver, in French and Spanish. This he did for six months.

1830, April 1. Mr. Eames closes his connection with the Latin school. He did not think, as the committee did, about the order for the exclusion of corporal punishment.

3d. George Nichols takes his place for one month.

May 15. The Latin school to be discontinued till a teacher can be obtained. After waiting, the committee employ Amos D. Wheeler to fill the vacancy.

July 9. Mr. Oliver resigns the English high school. He engaged in a school Sept. 1st, on his own account, which he taught with great repute to himself and much benefit to his scholars.

10th. On the question of admitting a colored female to the high school for girls, it was decided affirmatively.

Aug. 21. Elisha Mack is chosen to take the place of Mr. Oliver in the English high school, at \$1,000 a year.

Oct. 19. His health not being sufficient, he relinquishes the station, to which William H. Brooks is appointed at the same rate.

1831, March 28. An effort is made to abolish the high school for boys, because of its expense. But a majority prevail to have it continued.

May 7. So sensitive was the mind of most in Salem on the admission of colored children with the whites to our public schools, and as there was a doubt

of its legality, the school committee designate some of their body to obtain counsel relative to the subject. This was done, and the advice was fully in favor of granting such permission.

1833, Jan. 14. Mr. Hamilton's connection with West school for females, ceases.

March 26. John E. Dearborn, who had taught one of our public schools, two years, will succeed Mr. Fairfield in his private school.

July 27. Oliver Carlton is elected to succeed Mr. Wheeler in the Latin school.

1834, March 31. For the encouragement of education, our Legislature pass an act of the subsequent tenor. "Be it enacted, that from the first day of January next, all monies in the treasury derived from the sale of lands in the State of Maine, and from the claim of the State on the government of the United States for military services, and not otherwise appropriated, together with fifty per centum of all monies thereafter to be received from the sale of lands in Maine, shall be appropriated to constitute a permanent fund for the aid and encouragement of common schools." From this, called "The Massachusetts School Fund," there have been annual grants to Salem. The sum, so received, in 1836 was over \$500, 1839, \$431 76, and in 1842, \$519 72. Since the Colonial gift of Baker's and Misery Islands, appropriated for education, this community has not had cause to remember a benefaction of the Commonwealth, for a similar purpose, until the present. Such provision tends to cherish benevolent sympathies and ties of strength between the State and its towns and cities.

June 7. A remonstrance is presented against having colored girls in the East high school.

July 24. The town empower the school committee to establish separate instruction for the African children.

Aug. 5. William B. Dodge, who had taught in North Fields, is chosen to instruct such scholars. The place provided for them, was the chamber of the Central school house, where the Latin school was formerly kept.

30th. Albert Lackey of Danvers is to take Mr. Dodge's former place.

Nov. 13. The public schools are allowed four days to hear Mr. Mulkey on his new system of orthoepy. There are 19 town schools, with 783 male, and 528 female scholars, from 4 to 16 years old. The cost of their instructors for a year, is \$8,450.

1835, May 16. A report is made on donations by Samuel Brown and others, for the benefit of our common schools. It states that, however such gifts have long ceased to be accounted for, yet the intention of them has been essentially complied with in our annual appropriations for education.

Oct. 12. William Leavitt is elected to fill the place of Mr. Hood in the South school. The teacher of the Latin school has \$1,100, of the High, \$1,000, each of the nine other masters, has \$600, and each of the eight mistresses has \$150 salary.

1836, May. The school committee now receive their authority from the city council, instead of the whole corporation. Though there is this turn in the tide of our affairs, yet there is the same bearing towards improvement.



Oct. 10. Daniel P. Gallop of Beverly is to take the West school, which was under Mr. Felton.

31st. An addition of \$200 is made to each salary of the town masters, and \$50 to that of every mistress in the primary schools, to begin the first of next year.

1837, March 20. There are 70 private schools in Salem, mostly taught by females, having 589 males and 1,001 females, supported at an annual charge of \$22,700. The town schools have 1,236 pupils, being 756 males and 480 females, at the yearly cost for teachers of \$8,877.

1839, Jan. 6. The annual compensation for each master of the common schools is placed at \$750, and, the next quarter, it was reduced \$50. Such diminution seems to have come from the late and continued embarrassment in business.

March 8. Mr. Towndrow had been lately employed to teach writing in the public schools. He continued in this capacity a year.

May 31. Richard Gardner of Williams street school is succeeded by Mr. Felton, formerly of the West school.

Aug. 19. Joseph Hale is instructor of the East female school, which had been under Mr. Putnam.

Sept. 26. A committee, appointed to consider the Normal schools, lately established by the State Board of Education, and the introduction of libraries into public schools, as proposed by the same body, report in their favor. They, also, recommend, that two girls, from each of the female high schools, be selected and placed at the Lexington Normal institution,

and fitted to instruct children here, at the expense of the city. This was partly carried into effect. One young woman, chosen the next February, was thus educated.

Oct. 7. The new, but judicious practice of employing female assistants in our public schools for boys, under the charge of masters, commences. The compensation for each of such assistants was \$150.

1840, Jan. 20. It is ordered, that no child shall belong to any public school without a certificate of having been vaccinated. The utility of this regulation, if perseveringly adhered to, is evident to all.

May 17. The school committee agree in a remonstrance to General Court, against the abolition of the State Board of Education and Normal schools. The object, for which this document was forwarded, was secured by a majority of the Legislature.

Sept. 14. Amos Choate proposes to give the city \$120 annually, for three years, as prizes to six of the best scholars in the Latin school, and to nine of like merit in the high school, and not less than \$10 for a boy in each of these schools, who has the highest mark for good conduct. This generous and useful gift was accepted.

1841, Feb. 15. Voted to have a school house of wood erected in Aborn street, for \$1,500.

April 3. Mr. Lackey is transferred from the North school to the East female school, resigned by Mr. Hale.

5th. Charles Northend is appointed to the North school.

19th. It is voted, that a site, for a building after-

wards called the Union school house, be purchased between Bath and Essex streets, known as the Brown lot, instead of the one, previously contracted for, between St. Peter and Forrester streets.

May 17. It is decided to have a new building for the North school. Mr. Lackey is to take this again and Mr. Northend to teach the Aborn street school. Mr. Jocelyn is to succeed Mr. Lackey in the East female school. Messrs. Brooks and Felton are designated for the Union school, composed of the Central, Williams street and East schools for boys. So many changes at once, never before or since occurred in our department of instruction. The female assistant in the West school has a salary of \$175.

Aug. 7. Mr. Dodge relinquishes the African school after a long and useful service, as one of our public instructors, of 34 years.

16th. Thomas B. Perkins of Lynn is elected to succeed him.

Oct. 11. A school house for colored children, is ordered to be erected on the city land, opening into Mill street, and called Gravel Pit.

1842, March 1. There is a festival to celebrate the opening of the new school houses. A procession move, in the forenoon, from the East school house to the Mechanic hall. 1,900 scholars are present. There are prayers, singing by the pupils, and addresses. Invited guests partake of a collation in the lower rooms. In the afternoon, the Mayor relates the operations of the school committee and speeches are made. In the evening, Horace Mann delivered a valuable address. Among the strangers present, is the Nestorian bishop,

Mar Yohannan, who attracted much notice. This was a novel, but highly interesting scene for Salem.

3d. It is concluded that the donation of \$2,400 by Stephen C. Phillips to Salem, shall be expended for improvements on the school house in Broad street. The language of the school committee, subsequently<sup>1</sup> expressed towards this gentleman, is justly applicable. "Resolved that this Board tender their sincere and grateful acknowledgments to the Hon. Stephen C. Phillips for his generous liberality, his untiring industry, as a member of this Board and as chairman of the standing committee, for the great amount of labor, which he has voluntarily performed, for his valuable suggestions and the deep interest, which, for several years, he has constantly manifested to perfect our system of public instruction, and to which, in a high degree, we are indebted for the present elevated condition of the public schools."

The chief of these two school houses, situated on Essex and Bath streets, is of brick, two stories high, 50 feet wide and 136 feet long. Its cost was \$17,500. It is calculated for two departments, which together comprise 176 scholars. This and the present Grammar school house are well adapted for their purpose, and the best ever before in Salem.

April 18. At a late session of the legislature a resolve was passed, that \$15 be paid from the school fund to every school district, which show, that they have appropriated as much for a district library.

1843, April 17. Of 3,910 pupils from 4 to 16 years

<sup>1</sup> March 21, 1844.

of age, 972 are in 49 private schools, at an annual expense of \$13,594 75. Of the same number, 2,256 belong to 28 public schools, taught by 10 males and 41 females, though but about 2,000 are regular attendants. For the teachers and fuel of these schools one year, the city paid \$14,816 86.

Oct. 17. Our colored population are and have been dissatisfied with the separate school for their children, as too distinctive in point of complexion. Hence, the school had greatly declined in numbers. The result was, that it was closed the next spring to the no small stir among those, who differed in opinion as to the mode of its termination and the reason for its continuance.

Before closing the subject of education, it may be well to look back on a portion of the manuals, by which learners of the past century acquired the rudiments of their knowledge. The following books, additional to others, named under 1691, are presented as the means for so commendable an attainment. Their use appears to have commenced here and in other sections of Massachusetts, as convenience and preference dictated, about the particular years, which accompany them. This reference of them, as to time and place, is more vague than desired. But the want of data, for the greater part, forbid it to be otherwise. Such books, as refer to branches above those of spelling, reading and cyphering, were confined, chiefly, to private schools and were not used in any of our public English schools, till 1816, as previously stated.

Spelling Books.—Dyche's, Dilworth's, 1750, the latter continued in use till after 1800; Fenning's,

1755; British Instructor, 1768; Perry's, 1780, published by Thomas, 1808, and used here 1834, as edited by Alger; Webster's, 1802; Alden's, 1812; New York spelling book, 1818; Murray's, 1819; Picket's, Cummings's, 1820; Emerson's, 1835, and Fowle's, 1842.

Reading Books.—Several English spelling books had lessons for reading, which were used, for this purpose, as well as the Bible and Psalter, for a long period. Webster's selections 1785; Morse's Geography, abridged; Youth's Preceptor, 1789; American Preceptor, 1792; Economy of human life, 1793; Columbian Orator, from which pieces were spoken by boys at their public examinations; Dana's selections, Scott's Lessons, 1800; Sampson's Beauties of the Bible, 1802; English Reader, 1805; New York Reader, 1818; American First Class Book, 1825; National Reader, 1828; Sullivan's Moral Class Book, 1835; Story's Constitutional Class Book; Young Analytical Reader, 1838; Mount Vernon, 1839; Leavitt's, Porter's, 1840. The period is not known when the Scriptures were ever excluded from our public schools. But instead of being read by the scholars as previously, they have been read for not less than 24 years, either by the teacher, or, at his direction, by one of the pupils, at the opening of the school in the morning. In one mode or another, they have been generally used in our private schools. If the reading of them by instructors has proved sufficient to command the attention of scholars so much as the old custom, it may be the means of gain in point of reverence for their sacred contents. Still the subject is open for



consideration and the way should be pursued, which is best to bring the mind of our youth under the sway of Christianity and thus render them fit to love and sustain the principles of the reformation.

**Arithmetics.**—Jeak's, 1713; Fisher's Young Man's Companion with lessons of spelling, reading, etc., 1727; an edition of this work, enlarged, was printed by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, 1748; an Arithmetic, vulgar and decimal, printed in Boston, 1729; Hill's, 1752; School Master's Assistant, 1770; Perry's Assistant, 1777; Pike's, 1786; Temple's, 1790; Walsh's, 1801, continued in 1838; Adams's, 1802; Welch's, calculated in Federal money, 1813; Daboll's, 1814; Bonnycastle's, Staniford's, 1818; Colburn's First Lessons, 1820; Colburn's Sequel, 1826; Robinson's, 1834; Emerson's, 1835; Greenleaf's, Smith's, 1838; and Leonard's, 1841.

Stepping over the studies of Algebra, Geometry, Surveying, Astronomy and History, taught in the higher schools and of which there was a convenient supply, we come to other branches.

**Book Keeping.**—Besides Oldcastle and Collins, prior to 1700, there have been Snell's, 1710; Mair's, 1738; Perry's, 1777; Booth's, 1789; Turner's, 1800; Staniford's, at the end of his Arithmetic, 1818, and Robinson's, 1835.

As many sons of "our Zebulon" have, from its first settlement, chosen the pursuits of the Ocean, we must not omit Navigation. Jones's, 1702; Halley's Tables, 1761; Wilson's, 1763; Hutchinson's, 1777; Moore's, 1800; Bowditch's, 1807, which is still used.

**Geographies.**—Gordon's, 1708; Rudiments, 1712;

Bohun's, 1713; Salmon's, 1756; Guthrie's, 1785; Morse's, 1790; Dwight's, 1795; Cumming's, 1813; Adam's, 1815; Worcester's, 1825; Boston School Atlas, 1829; Carter's, Field's, 1834; Woodbridge's, 1835; Olney's, Parley's, 1838; Smith's, Smiley's, Hale's, Child's, 1839; Fowle's, 1830, and Mitchell's, 1842.

English Grammars.—Salmon's, 1759; Lilly's, 1761; British Grammar, printed in Boston, 1784; Lowth's, Ash's, Webster's, 1785; Bingham's Accidence, 1790; Alexander's, 1797; Murray's, 1806; continued, 1834; Teacher of Youth, 1807; Staniford's, 1815; Smith's, 1838; Parker's, 1839; Gould Brown's, 1842.

English Dictionaries of Bailey, 1745; Dyche, 1750; Johnson, 1759; Entick, 1770; Perry, 1783; continued, 1834; Walker, 1806, used, 1843; Webster, 1807, and Worcester, 1835.

Of the various productions in Belles Lettres, for teaching young ladies, was Dodsley's Preceptor, two large volumes, 1748.

Latin Grammars of Garretson, 1704; Rules of Syntax, 1712; Bailey's exercises, 1720; Burr, 1757; Introduction to the Latin tongue, 1789; Adam, 1800; Biglow, 1809; Smith, 1813; Andrews and Stoddard, 1839.

Latin Dictionaries of Ainsworth, 1736; Cole, 1743; Young, 1762; Entick's Tyro Thesaurus, 1808; Leverett, 1836, and Gardner, 1840.

Passing over a variety of French, Italian and Spanish Grammars and Dictionaries, which have been studied in our high schools, we come to the Greek Grammars. Vossius, used after the year 1700, as well

as before ; Institutio, etc., 1730 ; Wettenthal's, 1739 ; Milner's, 1761 ; Glocester, 1800, the chief successor to Westminster Grammar ; Valpy's, 1808 ; Smith's, 1810 ; Fisk's, 1830, and Sophocles's, 1835.

Greek Lexicons of Schrevelius, editions prior to 1700, and down to 1774 and afterwards, an edition of it by John Pickering, with an English translation, 1826 ; Donnegan, 1832, and Grove, 1834.

Thus we come to the close of bibliographical details. Viewed independently of their relations, they are dry and uninteresting. But look at them as the signs, set up on the long course of education, and they soon change their appearance and tell us of what occupied the early days and attention of our ancestors as well as of their descendants. They also show us, that the facilities for instruction, in the different periods of our community and commonwealth, were more than is generally supposed.

Though beyond the common bound of this work, yet the present is an instance wherein we may be allowed to step over and notice the books, studied in all our public schools. True, such an addition may increase the tedium of looking through what has been just offered. Still, not a few, who may come after us, will be glad to know the studies of our childhood, as we are to ascertain those of the multitudes, who have preceded us. The thought of thus preparing satisfaction for them, should add to our own pleasure and impel us to endure so as to prevent their disappointment.

Text books used in the schools of Salem in 1844. Latin Grammar school.—Andrews's Latin Lessons and

Reader, *Cæsar de bello Gallico*, Cicero's Select Oration, Virgil, Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar and Exercises. Greek Delectus, Felton's Greek Reader, Sophocles's Greek Grammar, Classical Reader, Emerson's Arithmetic, Totten and Sherwin's Algebra, Brown's English Grammar, Worcester's Ancient and Modern Geography.

English High School.—Tower's Gradual Reader, Scholar's Companion, Brown's Grammar, Walker's Dictionary, Smith's Geography, Gray's Chemistry, Pictorial Natural History, Hitchcock's Geology, Wayland's Political Economy, City Charter, Constitution of Massachusetts, Bayard's Constitution of the United States, Emerson's Arithmetic, 3d part, Clark's Book-keeping, Sherwin's Algebra, Ingram's Mathematics, Olmstead's Natural Philosophy, Wilkins's Astronomy, Wayland's Moral Science, Paley's Natural Theology, and Dick's Christian Philosopher.

English Grammar Schools.—Fowle's Improved Guide, Scholar's Companion, Parker and Fox's Progressive Exercises, Frost's Exercises in Composition, Young Reader, Worcester's Third Part, Mount Vernon Reader, American First Class Book, Tower's Gradual Reader, Child's Own Book of American Geography, Smith's Atlas, Emerson's Outlines of Geography and History, Fairfield's Map Questions, Wilkins's Astronomy, Frost's History of the United States, Colburn's First Lessons and Sequel, Bailey's Algebra and Grund's Geometry.

Primary Schools.—My Little Primer, My First School Book, Spelling and Thinking combined, Wor-

cester's Second Book, Mount Vernon Junior Reader, Emerson's Arithmetic, first part.

We have reached the end, designed for considering the chief branch of school education in this community. The course, so pursued, covers a long period of various incidents. It shows the views, inclinations, and changes of the public mind as to one of its most vital concerns. Its light has increased, as its distance has lengthened. But success should not blind our eyes. It should never disarm us of caution. A vigilant care should be constantly exercised, lest the intellect of the young be cultivated to the exclusion of conscience. Earthly learning without the balance and direction of heavenly wisdom, is like an orb of the firmament, drawn from its proper sphere, endangering itself and every object it approaches. As a poet has observed, "It is not the whole of life, to live," so we may remark, it is not all of learning, to learn. There are important consequences. If the faculties and affections be trained under a correct impression, that, for whatever ideas they bring to the soul so as to bias its motives and actions, there is an inevitable accountability at the bar of Omniscience, it will have a salutary influence. The pupils of a teacher are neither so dull nor so forgetful hearers of such precepts, as many suppose. The more our schools are thus instructed, the more this city may continue to point them out, as the Roman matron did her well disciplined children,—“These are my jewels.”

## COLLEGE GRADUATES.

Since the commendable efforts of our fathers to found a College on the plain, subsequently known as Marblehead farms, great has been the increase of literary privileges. Had success crowned their exertions, the first institution of this kind, in New England, would not, of course, have derived its origin as that of Harvard has. As it is, we proceed to give a list of the individuals, who have taken their first degrees, while residents of Salem. To those, who have made the experiment, this is no easy task. The difficulty arises mainly from a lack of records in the different colleges of Massachusetts and the adjoining States. So far as such deficiency arises from keeping no regular entry of the students, it should be forthwith rectified. So far as it comes from the unavoidable loss of records, it is matter of much regret.

*Harvard Graduates.*<sup>1</sup>

As the entries made of scholars who joined this University down to 1728, are lost, we have not so sure information of them as is necessary to know all of their number who hailed from this city. The graduates having *d* subjoined, were of that section of Salem afterwards called Danvers.

George Downing,	1642	Samuel Phillips,	1708
Joseph Brown,	1666	John Tufts, <i>d</i>	"
Nathaniel Higginson,	1670	Benjamin Marston,	1715
Peter Ruck,	1685	Samuel Plaisted,	"
Benjamin Marston,	1689	John Higginson,	1717
Walter Price,	1695	Daniel Putnam, <i>d</i>	"
Timothy Lindall,	"	Benjamin Lynde,	1718
George Curwin,	1701	Mitchell Sewall,	"
John Rogers,	1705	Theophilus Pickering,	1719

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<sup>1</sup> Letters from Hon. Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College, and from Rev. John Pierce, D. D.



Joseph Green, <i>d</i>	1720	Benjamin Goodhue,	1766
John Wolcott,	1721	James Diman,	1768
Stephen Sewall,	"	Timothy Orno,	"
William Osgood,	"	William Goodhue,	1769
Thomas Lee,	1722	Joshua Dodge,	1771
Samuel Jeffers,	"	Edward Kitchen Turner,*	"
John Gardner,	1723	Thomas Fitch Oliver,	1775
James Osgood,	1724	Joseph Blaney,	1778
Marston Cabot,	"	Samuel Williams,	1780
John Cabot,	"	Samuel Orne,	1781
Benjamin Browne,	1725	John Saunders,	"
Samuel Browne,	1727	Benjamin Pickman,	1784
William Browne,	"	Timothy Williams,	"
Nathaniel Lindall,	1728	Samuel Gardner Derby,	1785
Richard Clarke,	1729	Ebenezer Putnam,	"
John Barton,	1730	John Derby,	1786
Samuel Gardner,	1732	Samuel Pickering Gardner,	"
William Lynde,	1733	John Gibaut,	"
Benjamin Gorriah,	"	William Mason,	1787
Joseph Orne,	"	Joseph Cabot,	1788
Samuel Curwin,	1735	Ezekiel Hersey Derby,	1791
George Curwin,	"	Thomas Pickman,	"
Benjamin Prescott, <i>d</i>	1736	Nathaniel Cabot Lee,	"
Peter Clark, <i>d</i>	1739	John Sparhawk Appleton,	1792
Samuel Orne,	1740	George Gardner Lee,	"
Ichabod Plaisted,	1745	Willard Peele,	"
Andrew Higginson,	"	Joseph Sprague,	"
Nathaniel Ropes,	"	John Pickering,	1796
James Putnam, <i>d</i>	1746	Francis Williams,	"
William Browne,	1755	John Hathorne,	1798
Thomas Toppan,	1757	Timothy Pickering,	1799
Benjamin Pickman,	1759	William Rufus Gray,	1800
John Pickering,	"	John Prince,	"
Nathan Goodale,	"	John Forrester,	*1801
Samuel Gardner,	"	Benjamin Peirce,	"
George Gardner,	1762	Ichabod Nichols,	1802
John Barnard,	"	Charles Saunders,	"
John Cabot,	1763	Simon Forrester,	1803
Timothy Pickering,	"	Benjamin Hodges,	"
Jonathan Goodhue,	1764	Samuel Orne,	1804
Henry Gardner,	1765	Benjamin Ropes Nichols,	"
Joseph Orne,	"		
Nathaniel Ward,	"		
William Pickman,	1766		
Henry Gibbs,	"		
Thomas Barnard,	"		
Jacob Ashton,	"		

\* Though the town, whence he came, is not placed against his name, recorded on the College book, when he entered, yet he was evidently from Salem.

Joseph Sprague Stearns,*	1804	Charles Lawrence,	1815
Ebenezer Hunt Beckford,	1805	Joseph Orne,	"
Benjamin Binney Osgood,	1806	Gayton Pickman Osgood,	"
Daniel Oliver,	"	Hasket Derby Pickman,	"
Nathaniel West,	1807	Samuel R. Putnam,	"
Henry Peirce,	1808	Ebenezer Putnam,	"
Francis Calley Gray,	1809	Richard Gardner,	1816
Jonathan Peele Dabney,	1811	Nathan Ward Neal,	"
Samuel Gilman,	"	Joseph Augustus Peabody,	"
Robert Hawkins Osgood,	"	Joseph Gilbert Waters,	"
Clarke Gayton Pickman,	"	Stephen Wheatland,	"
William Augustus Rogers,	"	Thomas March Woodbridge,	"
Richard Derby,	1812	Samuel Burrill,	1818
Francis Gerrish,	"	William Paine Cabot,	"
Andrew Dunlap,	1813	Ezekiel Hersey Derby,	"
Charles Forrester,	"	George Osborn,	"
John Foster,	"	Richard Goodhue Wheatland,	"
Thomas Savage,	"	Thomas Cook Whittridge,	"
George Derby,	1814	Oliver Frye,	1819
Joseph Peirce Nichols,	"	Stephen Clarendon Phillips,	"
Edward West,	"	Joseph Hardy Prince,	"
Henry Felt Baker,	1815	Benjamin Wheatland,	"
Joseph Sebastian Cabot,	"	Gideon Tucker,	1820
William Fairfield Gardner,	"	Benjamin Tucker,	1821
Richard Manning Hodges,	"	Nath. Ingersoll Bowditch,	1822
		William Putnam Endicott,	"
		Horatio Robinson,	"

\* Now Joseph Emerson Sprague. Of those who entered Harvard College from Salem, down to 1805, but did not graduate, are the following. Zechariah Hickes 1752, Stephen Goodhue, and Ely Justin 1755, Joseph Cabot 1761, George Cabot 1767, Jonathan Peele 1772, died, Paul Mascarene 1774, John Pynchon 1780, Richard Derby 1781, Elias Hasket Derby 1782, Stephen Cleveland Blyth 1786, John Fisk 1794 and Henry Gray 1798.

Of those numbered by Mr. Dabney among Salem graduates, in the American Quarterly Register of November, 1842, but who belonged elsewhere, are Benjamin Marston of Marblehead, entered 1745, John Page of New Salem, 1757, and Joseph Dowse of Boston 1762.

Sam'l Melancthon Worcester,	
Augustus Choate,	1823
Stephen Webb,	"
Joseph Osgood,	1824
Samuel Adams Cooper,	"
Edward Pickering,	"
David Roberts,	"
Charles Gideon Putnam,	"
George Thomas Saunders,	"
Nathaniel Silsbee,	"
Jeremiah Chaplin Stickney,	"
Augustus Torrey,	"
Stephen Palfrey Webb,	"
George Wheatland,	"
John Goodhue Treadwell,	1825
Nehemiah Adams,	1826
Benjamin Cox,	"
Nathaniel Phippen Knapp,	"
Wm. Hathorne Brooks,	1827
David Mighill Perley,	"

Benj. Varnum Crowinshield,		John Osgood Stone,	1833
Charles Babbidge,	1828	Gideon Forrester Burston,	1834
Ephraim Eliot Miller,	"	William Putnam Richardson,	"
George Nichols,	"	Nathaniel West,	"
John Lewis Russell,	"	James Freeman Colman,	"
Nathaniel Foster Derby,	"	Francis Cummings,	1835
Nicholas Devereux,	"	Francis Alfred Fabens,	"
George Humphrey Devereux,	"	Edward Lander,	"
Joshua Holyoke Ward,	"	Charles Warwick Palfrey,	"
William Andrews,	1830	James Chisholm,	1836
John White Brown,	"	Daniel Cook,	"
Richard Pulling Jenke,	"	Jones Very,	"
Samuel Mc Barney,	"	Thomas Barnard West,	"
Francis Henry Silsbee,	1831	William Burley Howes,	1838
Benjamin Hodges Silsbee,	"	John Garrison King,	"
Haley Forrester Burston,	1832	William Henry Prince,	"
Charles Timothy Brooks,	"	Henry Orne Stone,	"
George William Cleveland,	"	George Francis Cheever,	1840
William Fabens,	"	Edward Brooks Peirson,	"
William Prescott Gibbs,	"	William Orne White,	"
Charles Grafton Page,	"	Wm. St. Agnan Stearns,	1841
Jonathan Archr. Ropes,	"	Henry Osgood Stone,	"
John Boardman Silsbee,	"	Benjamin Burston,	1842
William Silsbee,	"	Frederick Howes,	"
John Henry Silsbee,	"	Samuel Johnson,	"
Augustus Story,	"	Stephen Henry Phillips,	"
William Henry West,	"	Horace Putnam Farnum,	1843
Henry Wheatland,	"	James Henry Trask,	"
Samuel Page Andrews,	1833	Washington Very,	"
William Mack,	"	Henry Orne White,	"

The following graduates were natives, but not residents of Salem, when taking their degrees. Jonathan Whitaker, 1797, Samuel Calley Gray and John Chipman Gray, 1814, William Hickling Prescott 1814, William Ward 1816, Horace Gray 1819, Benjamin Sweet 1823, Elms Hasket Derby 1824, Edward Goldsborough Prescott 1825, Henry Ingersoll Bowditch and William Gray Sweet 1825, Benjamin Pierce 1829, John Pickering 1830, Henry White Pickering 1831, Joseph White and Charles Henry Pierce 1833, Edward Augustus Crowinshield 1836, Wm. Ingersoll Bowditch and Wm. Wetmore Story 1838. Joseph Hunt Russell, of the class of 1841, died while a member of College.

### Yale Graduates.

Josiah Willard Gibbs,	1800	Edward Warner,	1835
Henry Gibbs,	1814		

Joseph Hardy Towne, though of Salem when he prepared to enter Yale, was not so when he graduated, 1827.

*Brown Graduates.*

George Phippen,	1811	Joseph Farnum, Jr.,	1832
Thomas Russell,	"	Samuel Randall,	"
John Mosely Moriarty,	1827	Stephen Osgood Shepard,	1836
Lucius Stillman Bolles,	1828	Thomas Perkins Shepard,	"
Samuel Lamson,	"	David Abott Putnam,	1837
Stephen Phippen Hill,	1829	William Hathorne Bott,	1840
Benj. Herbert Hathorne,	1830	Ebenezer Dodge, Jr.,	"
Joseph Moriarty,	"	Tracy Patch Cheever,	1843

*Dartmouth Graduates.<sup>1</sup>*

Robert Crowell,	1811	Rich'd Manning Chipman,	1832
Joseph Barlow Felt,	1813	Edward B. Emerson,	"
Ebenezer B. Caldwell,	1814	Charles D. Jackson,	1833
Joseph Torrey,	1816	James M. Dodge,	"
Samuel Haraden Archer,	1818	Nathaniel F. Safford, Jr.,	1835
George W. Punchard,	1826	Frederic W. Choate,	1836
Jonathan Fox Worcester,	1827	Edward D. Very,	1837
Loammi Sewall Coburn,	1830	William W. Morland,	1838
Daniel Hopkins Emerson,	"	Frederic Foster,	1840
Charles C. Webster,	"		

The following persons entered Dartmouth College, but did not graduate. Stephen Caldwell 1807, died, Henry S. Safford 1808, Samuel L. Driver 1825, John C. Treadwell and Francis Cummings 1830, Robert W. King and Edward Warner 1831.

*Bowdoin Graduates.*

John Barton Derby,	1811	Nathaniel Hawthorne,	1825
Edward Orne,	1814	George W. Cleaveland,	1837
Ebenezer Shillaber,	1816		

*Amherst Graduates.*

Joseph Howard, Jr.,	1827	Wm. Charles Treadwell,	1836
Stephen Caldwell Millet,	1830	Alden Burrill Robbins,	1839
John Lawrence Fox,	1831	James Locke Batchelder,	1840
John Northend Goodhue,	"	George Baker Jewett,	"
Albert Samuel Payson,	1833	John Herrick Stratton,	"
George Phillips Smith,	1835	Daniel Kimball,	1841

<sup>1</sup> Letters from Rev. John Richards of Hanover, and Mr. Mellen Chamberlain, of Concord, N. H.

*Waterville Graduates.*

James Upham,	1835	Stephen Hervey Herrick,	1838
James Stone,	"	James Oliver,	"

Should there be deficiency of names in the preceding lists, the writer would be glad to have information of them.

## SABBATH SCHOOLS.

These institutions have probably existed, to a limited extent, in one form or another, at different periods of Christianity. Among the most prominent promoters of them in ancient times, was Charles Borromeo, by some written Boronia, bishop of Milan, in the 16th century. They were adopted by a Synod of Germany in 1695. But the man, whose example has exerted an influence among Christians of both hemispheres, for carrying on so valuable an enterprise of benevolence, is Robert Raikes. To reclaim dissolute children, who trampled on the Lord's day, in Painswic of Gloucestershire, England, Mr. Raikes had them collected into a Sunday school. Such an essay has met with the signal blessing of Providence and bids fair to be an increasing auxiliary for the advancement of the world's spiritual renovation. It is a richer memorial of him, than Westminster's costliest monuments of its sleeping heroes.

The first movement for a Sabbath school in Salem, which has come to the notice of the writer, is the following. In 1807, S. Cleaveland Blyden, who taught school here, gave notice, that, on Sept. 6, he would begin to instruct any children every Sunday, from half past 6 to 8 A. M., and from half past 4 to

6 P. M., free of all charge, except for Bibles and blank books.

1813. A school of this sort was taught in the Tabernacle during the summer, one hour prior to the afternoon service. It continued to be thus kept periodically till 1818, except one summer. Another was commenced, 1813, in the South Congregation,<sup>1</sup> by Miss Susan Bulfinch, afterwards the wife of Daniel Poor, a distinguished Missionary in Ceylon.

1816, Jan. 25. A school of this kind, had just begun at the South meeting house, for indigent boys, unable to attend instruction on other days. They learned from the spelling book, Testament and Bible. At the same place, a school for boys, in better circumstances, then commenced.

1817, May 17. A Bible class began under the instruction of Rev. Samuel Worcester.

1818, April 19. A Sunday school for colored females and children, is opened by a number of ladies, who soon took the name of the Clarkson Society.

June 9. This association had another such school lately commenced for colored males. A similar school had recently begun in the Branch Congregation. Schools of this kind were becoming general in the towns of Essex County.

Aug. 13. A Sabbath School Society is organized in the first Baptist church. They had a school previously in operation.

1819. The Society for the moral and religious instruction of the poor, open such schools in different

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Rev. Michael Carlton.



sections of the town. These, in the summer of 1822, contained 475 children. At the same time, the colored school numbered 114 children and adults. In 1823, the schools, under the last society named, were supplied with Libraries. On Oct. 12, of this year, they were addressed, in the South meeting house, by Rev. Dr. Price, of Hampden Sidney College.

1825, Oct. 27. There had been eight of these schools in town the past summer, of 750 scholars. Their anniversary was observed in the same meeting house. Mr. Upham preached a sermon on the occasion. A collection of \$50 was taken.

1828, June. A Sabbath school is opened in the North church. Others were commenced, 1830, in the rest of the religious societies. As new congregations have been since formed, they have adopted such schools. From the year last specified, the schools have been continued, for the most part, through the year. They are generally furnished with good libraries. It is a hopeful sign of our day, that institutions of this sort have risen and spread among our population. Wherever their legitimate influence is allowed, they will open the spiritual vision of man to his moral necessities, and thence guide him to the revealed supplies of his Maker.

#### INSTRUCTION IN SINGING.

This art, which, when properly exercised, contributes so much to the refined pleasure of social intercourse and to the chastened enjoyment of religious worship, has had its changes of depression and elevation. Though the primitive settlers of our soil de-

clined the use of organs in their sanctuaries, they were no haters of vocal music. While they survived, this gift of the voice was cultivated according to the tunes, contained in such versions of the Psalms, as Ainsworth and others. After their departure, a disposition, to learn more from memory than rule, extensively prevailed. This probably arose from a scarcity of suitable books, occasioned by the adversities of war with the Indians and of severity from the Crown, as well as from too much indulgence to bad taste.

By 1714, the need of reform was greatly felt by men, who desired that their children should make "sweet singers," as well as true followers of rectitude. Among such reformers were Rev. John Tufts of Newbury and Rev. Thomas Symmes of Bradford. The former published a singing book, about the year last named, with 24 tunes, taken from Ravenscroft, at 6<sup>d</sup>. The latter issued, in 1720, a witty, sensible piece, styled "joco-serious dialogue on singing," which adduced and answered the various objections, made against the use of notes. He too, preached and wrote on this subject. For his exertions in this behalf, he encountered frequent opposition.

As a specimen of the deep feeling, which such an effort produced, the society of what was then the south part of Braintree, under Mr. Niles, may be adduced. In 1723, several members of his church were excommunicated, because they advocated the proposed amendment. Shortly after, a council called to settle their difficulties, decided, that they should have singing by note and rote, so that each party might, in turn, be gratified. This was a conclusion more sig-

nificant of kind wishes than of adopting the best means to promote peace. The contest, so carried on, in a greater or less degree, in many parishes, gradually subsided in favor of truth, and the musical jargon, if not howlings, of our temples, became far less popular. Still, however victory was declared for notes, there remained too much inclination to neglect the "grave tunes" of our fathers, or more modern ones like them, and substitute those of greater jingle, but of far less impressiveness. Such a taste, though partially corrected, was widely indulged till about thirty-five years ago.

Having thus adduced the preceding facts, which have a bearing on our own town in common with other parts of New England, a few particulars will now be presented.

As a common concern in this department of instruction, an act was passed by our legislature, July 14, 1772, "for granting William Billings of Boston the sole privilege of printing and vending a book by him composed, consisting of a great variety of Psalm tunes, Anthems, and Cannons, in two volumes." Though this appears to be the first copy right of the kind, recorded among the transactions of our General Court, yet there had been, for many years, various books of such tunes, for sale in Massachusetts.

The first published information, that we have met with of singing's being taught in Salem, though it very probably was long before, is of Sept. 14, 1773. Then Mr. Munson advertised his purpose to give such instruction.

1774, April 19. Youth of both sexes, who had

been under the tuition of Mr. Ripley, meet at one of the houses of worship and sing psalm tunes and anthems. The next day, more of them from Mr. Munson's scholars, belonging to this and other towns, assemble here in another meeting house and make a like exhibition.

1783, Aug. 12. An advertisement states, that a singing school will be opened in the brick school house.

1796, March 2. Rev. Mr. Law notifies, that he continues to teach sacred music in this town. He did much to promote a correct taste and practice in such a department.

Nov. 2. Of the scientific teachers of the same art, is Samuel Holyoke. He proposes to teach it among our population. Since this time, such instructors have appeared, sufficient to meet the calls of community. The Essex South Musical Society, formed 1814; the Handel Society, 1818, and the Haydn Society in 1821, exerted a beneficial influence on the singing of our religious congregations, through their members, who resided here.

1825. About this date, the Mozart Association is formed. They had stated meetings to practice in vocal and instrumental music. Occasionally, they gave concerts. They continued six years.

1832. A society, denominated the Glee Club, commences. They assemble once a week to improve in singing English and German glees. Of these they have 36 volumes by the best masters. Instrumental music accompanies the vocal. Ladies, though not members, sometimes take part in the performances.

Merriment, as the name of the society is sometimes taken to mean, is not their object, but rational amusement in the cultivation of musical taste.

1839. There is a reorganization of persons, who take the name of Union Social Singing Society. Their main purpose is to advance in the art of sacred music. They are assisted with several of the orchestral instruments.

As among the salutary novelties of late years, we have the subsequent items.

1842, Sept. 1. A teacher of vocal music is to be employed by our city, for \$150, in all our public schools, under masters, except the one for Latin.

1843, April 17. For a like purpose, \$300 are voted. This was paid to three instructors for a year's service. The proper use of the voice in this and other respects, is not half enough appreciated as to its power, in accordance with the purpose of its Creator, for harmonizing the discordant passions and improving the better affections of our nature.

"The song instructs the soul and charms the ear."

#### INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

The settlers of New England, when coming hither to found colonies, left behind them the instruments of music, employed in the churches of their native land. Not that their ears were insensible to the harmony of sounds or their hearts unaffected with its strains. No. They judged, from past experience, that by such denial, they and their children should be less likely to cherish an excessive reliance on the forms of religion, which prevailed among their countrymen, and thus

lose its spirit and power. A decision of this kind long exerted an efficient influence over our Commonwealth.

The first organs, we know of, in Massachusetts, were noticed, 1711, by Rev. Mr. Green of Salem Village. He said of them in his diary, "I was at Mr. Thomas Brattle's, heard the organs and saw strange things in a microscope." It is probable, that one of these instruments was that, which Mr. Brattle gave, in 1714, to the King's Chapel of Boston. A strong objection made by some persons, 1720, against the revival of singing by note, was, lest it should bring instrumental music into our churches. In 1743, an organ of John Clark was put in the Episcopal church of Salem. When they had another made by Thomas Johnston of Boston, 1754, they presented their old one to the Episcopal church of Marblehead.

With regard to other musical instruments, they were seldom advertised in the public prints, before the Revolution of 1775. One of the instances, when they were, was in 1764. Then a gentleman from London offered several for sale in Boston, as flutes, violins, a harpsichord, hautboys, and a bass viol. Relative to the harpsichord, so named, it as well as the spinnet, was not in general use at this date. The piano forte, being an improvement on them, was gradually coming into use by 1795, and has since become quite common among our citizens.

1771. A pamphlet is published here, entitled, "The lawfulness and advantages of instrumental music in the public worship of God." A similar production had been issued in Philadelphia, 1763.



1772. Robert and George Virat propose to give musical lessons in Salem.

1774. A concert of instrumental and vocal music is given at the Assembly Room.

1783. The Massachusetts Band, from Boston, perform at a concert in Salem, for the benefit of our poor. About 1799, several young men of Salem form a band. They were much noticed for their skilful performances.

1800. An organ is made in London for the first church. It came over in a ship of Hasket Derby. Its cost was \$1,800. It is among the best of our country.

Prior to this time, orchestral instruments, particularly the bass viol, had been played in our Congregational societies, for many years. They were thus employed in each of such societies as has been supplied with an organ, till it was so accommodated. They are still used in our congregations which have no organs.

1806. About this time, some of our musicians unite and receive the name of Brigade Band, under the auspices of General Samuel G. Derby. Their career, while so connected, was of few years, but very respectable.

1808. The North church supply themselves with an organ, made in New York by John Giobo, at \$2,800.

1825. The Independent church are alike accommodated. Theirs was manufactured by Thomas Appleton of Boston for \$1,600. It is creditable to its architect.

1828. The Tabernacle church have an organ of

Messrs. Hooks, natives of Salem, but residents of Boston, for about \$800. Convinced, that the purchase of a low priced article at first, is not good economy in future, they are about to obtain another of better quality.

1832. The East church purchase one of Mr. Goodridge of Boston for \$1,700.

The South church buy another of Messrs. Hooks, at \$1,200. It has recently had the addition of a sub-base at \$300.

1833. The first Baptist church have an organ of Mr. Appleton at \$1,600. It is a superior instrument.

About 1835, a new Brigade Band is constituted. Its repute is deservedly high. One hopeful feature in its character is, that its members are all temperance men. This is a virtue, which has been too much disregarded by such associations. The more skill in music is exercised with a salutary influence on its possessors and hearers, the more it complies with the purpose of its being given as a talent for improvement.

1838. Howard street church procure an organ from Messrs. Stevens & Gayette of East Cambridge. It is accompanied with a sub-bass.

1839. The Universalist church obtain an organ.

Besides the preceding, there are two organs, of small size, in the Crombie street and the Catholic churches.

More than a century since, one reason assigned why organs would not find a place in our Congregational churches, was the expense of them. But this objection, as well as others of a religious nature, has given way so much, that, in less than fifty years, nearly all our houses of worship, though still unconformed to the usages of Episcopacy, are supplied with such in-

struments. This denotes a rapid change in pecuniary circumstances and ecclesiastical sentiments.

#### DANCING SCHOOLS.

This subject may appear to some, at first sight, as hardly a fit companion for other branches of education. But whatever may be its repute in minds of different inclinations, it has long been accounted, by a portion of our community, suitable to hold such a place. Though the far greater number of emigrants to these shores, were, in purpose and example, opposed to dancing, yet there were continually individuals about and among them, who would participate in the exercise. This was so, in the outset of our colony, at Merry Mount. It is evident from the early interdicts against it, as contained in our legislative records.

The first information, which the writer has seen relative to instruction in dancing, at Salem, was in 1739. Then our selectmen allowed Charles Bradshaw to teach this art in connection with French, "so long as he keeps good order." Henry Sherlot, professor of the same art, as well as of fencing, was ordered, 1681, to leave Boston, because of his immoral deportment.

In 1755, Lawrence D'Obleville, a native of Paris and a Protestant, was employed in Salem and other towns, "teaching children and youth to dance and good manners."

Robert and George Virat,<sup>1</sup> whom remarkable adversity had thrown on our coast, gave notice, in 1772, that they would take scholars to learn dancing as well

<sup>1</sup> In 1773, Monsieur Viart, of the same employment, is mentioned, who may have been one of these two, with his name differently spelt.

as fencing, music and French, in Salem and Marblehead. Their price was \$2 a quarter for either of these branches. Among other subsequent instructors of dancing in this city, were William Turner from London, 1774, James Boyd 1781, and Mr. Olive 1785. Of the places occupied by them, was the "Assembly House," standing next to the north side of the South church and used by the congregation of Rev. Daniel Hopkins, 1774, afterwards the Putnam Mansion in Federal street, and the Hall over Safford's store, recently consumed. As well known, there has long been a question on dancing, because of its results. Could it be practised, without an abuse of time and morals, it would be as proper as calisthenics or any other amusement for physical health. But whenever its fascinations are such, whether in the mansion or ball-room, as to encourage extravagance in apparel, intemperance in feasting and drinking, and absence from home at late hours, then it infringes on man's duty to his Maker and to community.

Thus we have looked at various departments of instruction. If training the intellect and affections to love the knowledge and practice the duties divinely imposed on us, then it ranks among the most valuable privileges of society. So coming up to its great end, it is followed with results of good, which reach through life and commingle with endless realities.

"'Tis so with man. His talents rest  
Misshapen embryos in his breast;  
Till education's eye explores  
The sleeping intellectual powers,  
Awakes the dawn of wit and sense,  
And lights them into excellence."

## APPENDIX.

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PLATE 6. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that Marble harbor was *partly* and not *exclusively* applied to Marblehead.

P. 8. Salem boundary took in a small portion of Lynn.

P. 11. *Indians.* Desirous to preserve facts relative to the Indians, who once occupied the soil of Naumkeag, or of those who had particular concerns with our inhabitants, the succeeding items are presented, as additional to those from page 11 to 33.

1639, June 25. Hope, a servant of Hugh Peters, was sentenced to be whipped for drunkenness and running away.

1652, April 17. Ned, or Peckanaminet, an Indian residing at Ipswich, mortgaged to Henry Bartholomew, for £30, land of eight miles square. It was about ten miles above Audover, on the Merrimac river, between lands of his uncle William and brother Humphrey. The conditions were, that Ned should pay the sum in merchantable beaver before the 10th of June next, or forfeit the security.

1657, June 30. George Sagamore, and Sagamore of Agawam, depose, that duke William sold Nuhant to "former Dexter," for a suit of clothes. But, as these were returned, the purchaser gave two or three coats for the same Island again. The mark of George was a bow and arrow. William was his cousin.

1661, March 29. John Bourne, æt. 49, now of Barbadoes, sells to Henry Harwood, five acres in South Fields, called "Indian Corn Hills."

1668, July 8. The following is an order of Salem selectmen. "Vpon the complaint of severall persons about the North Neck, concerning the Indians residing thereabouts; It's ordered, that if the inhabitants desire a watch there, the constable shall sett the watch by the inhabitants of the North Neck there."

1676, July 18. Benjamin Felton, keeper of our prison, had kept two Indians, one confined 17 weeks, and another 24 weeks. The Quarterly Court allowed him 2s. a week for each of them. It is likely that they were concerned in Philip's insurrection.

Oct 9. According to an examination of John Flint, before William Hathorne, the former shot a hostile Indian at the end of Spring pond, next to Lynn.

1679, Aug. 13. No Indian is to lodge in the town over night. He is to depart by sunset, and not return till sunrising. Any Indian breaking this order, is to be secured in prison, and in the morning carried before authority and punished.

1721, July 1. An inquisition had been lately held on the body of Betty Thomas, "an Indian squaw in Salem." Verdict, that she died a natural death.

1793, March 26. Many bones of human bodies had been lately dug up near the water side, "in the S. E. part of the town." They were concluded to be the remains of the aborigines.

1803, Oct. 25. Nine human skeletons were lately found in Mr. Buffum's ground, in N. Fields, many parts of which, particularly the teeth, were very sound. Two skeletons were found there about three years before. There can be little doubt but that they were remains of some Naumkeags.

1809, Dec. 4. While persons are making an excavation in South Salem, they meet with ten human skeletons, two or three feet from the surface of the ground, which are supposed to have been those of Indians.

1829, Sept. 16. While workmen are engaged in levelling a yard of Francis Peabody's factory in South Salem, they disturb the remains of Indians. These were deposited in groups of three or four, reclined on one side, in a north and south line, with their faces towards the east, emblematical of the resurrection morn. Most of the bodies were those of adults, and only three of children. Their knees were towards the breast, their hands against their faces, except one, who seemed to have been interred at full length. The bones of animals lay near their heads. Upwards of 4,000 people went to see them, and turn back their sympathies on the race, entirely swept from our soil. The relics of so sad a remembrance, were decently reburied in the evening, two days after their being discovered.

P. 31. line 20. For *u* in the second syllable of *Wittautinnusk*, read *u*.

P. 31. l. 29. After *time* supply *to time*.

P. 32. l. 26. For *Vk* read *Vs*.

P. 41. *List of Subscribers*. To understand more fully the persons and particulars of the company, who laid the foundation of Massachusetts, we have the following and two specific contracts with Messrs. Bright, Higginson, and Skelton.

In the name of god, Amen. London, May, 1628.

Sundrie men owe vnto the general stock of the adventurers for plantacon intended att Massachusetts Bay, in New England,



in America, the some of tow thousand one hundredth and fiftie pound. And is for soe much vndertaken by the pticular persons moncooned hereafter, by thore severall and generall stock for the foresaid plantacon. Subscripcions, to be by them aduontured In this Joint, wherevnto the Almighty grant prosperous and happie Success, that the same may rebound to his glorie, the propagation of the Gospell of Jesus Christ, and the particular good of the sonerall Adventurers, that now are or hereafter shalbe Interested therein. The persons now to be made debtors to the generall Stock being as followeth :

Sr. Rich'd Sultonstall, Kut. oweth £100	Abraham Palmer
Mr. Isacke Johnson, Esq. 100	Willm Darlow
Mr. Samuel Aldersey 50	John Finkertott
John Venn (1)	Daniell Hudson
Hugh Peter	Edward Storde
John Humphrey	Daniell Ballard
Thomas Stevens	Tho: Hewson
George Harwood	Andrew Arnott
John Hauer	Richard Bushord
Mathew Cradocke	Richard Young
Simon Whetcombe	George Wraye
James Welba	Richard Bullinghama
Increase Nowell	Job Bradshawe
Mr. A. C.	Joseph Bradshawe
Richard Tullieale	Moryu Darlowe
Richard Perrie	Tho: Hutchins
Joseph Offield	Charles Whitecolls
John White	George Stoverott
Joseph Carron	Willm Crowther
Thomas Adams	Nathaniell Munstroye
Richard Davis	

George Harwood, Treasurer for the plantacon of the Mattachusetts Bay, oweth unto sundrie accounts, for Monoyes Red by him of sundrie adventurers, vizt.

To Sr. Rich'd Sultonstall, Kut. recd £50	Edward Storde	
Isacke Johnson, Esq. 25	Thomas Hewson	
John Glover 25	Daniell Ballard	
Increase Nowell	Thomas Stevens	50
Mathew Cradock	Job Bradshawe	
Richard Perrey, Esq.	Joseph Bradshawe	
Hugh Peter	Andrew Arnott	
Joseph Offield	Nathaniell Munstroye	
Captaine John Venn	A. C.	
Abraham Palmer	George Harwood	
Samuel Aldersey	— Abrio	
Simon Whetcombe 15	John Smyth, per tow paints	25
Richard Young		
Joseph Carron		765

(1) The subscribers from B. Aldersey signed each £50.

P. 47. *Mr. Bright's Contract.* "The coppie of the mastors agreement with the compaie."

"I, Francis Bright, of Roily, in Essex, Clark, have this present 2th febr. 1628, agreed with the compa of aduenturers for New England, in America, to bee ready wth my wyf 2 childron and one maid servant, by the begining of Mreli next, to take our passage to the plantation at or neare Massachusetts Bay, in New England, as aforesaid; whear I doo promise, God sparing mee life and health, to serue the said company in the work of the ministry, by my true and faithfull endonours for the space of three years, for and in consideration whereof, these senerall particulars are this day agreed vpon, by the sd company, and by me accepted, namely.

"1. That twenty pounds shalbe fourthwith paid mee, by the companica Treasurer towards charges of fitting myself with apparell and other necessaris for yo voidage. 2. That ten pounds more shalbe paid mee by him towards providing of bookes, which said bookes, vpon my death or remouall from the chardg now intended to bee transferred vpon mee, are to be and remaine to such minister as shall succeed in my place for the said company, and before my departure out of England I am to deliver a particuler of the said bookes. 3. That twenty pounds yearly shalbe paid mee for three yeares, to begin from the tyme of my first arrivall in New England, and so to bee accounted and paid at the end of each yeare. 4. That durence the said tyme, the company shall provide for mee and my family aforesaid, necessaries of dyet, housing, fierwood, and shalbe at the chardgo of the transportacon of vs into New England, and at the end of the said three years, if I shal not like to continue longer there, to be at charges of transporting us back for England. 5. That in convenient tyme a house shalbe built, and certeine lands aloted their vnto, wch during my stay in the country and continuing in the ministerie, shalbe for my vse, and after my death or remouall the same to be for succeeding ministers. 6. That at the expiracon of the said three years, one hundred acres of land shulbe assigned vnto me, for mee and my heirs for euer. 7. That in case I shal depart this life in that country, the said company shall take care for my widow durence her widowhood and abound (in that) country and plantation; the like for my children whilst they remain on the said plantation. 8. That the milk of twoe kine shalbe appointed mee toward the chardg of dyet, for me and my family as aforesaid, and half their increes durence the said three yons to be likewise mine, but the said twoe kine and the other half of the increse to returne to the Company att the end of the said three years. 9. That I shall haue liberty to carry hedding, linnen, brasse, yron, pewter of my owne, for my necessary vse durence the said tyme.

10. That if I continow seaven years vpon the said plantation, that then one hundred acres of land more shalbe allotted to mee for me and my heirs forever."

P. 68. *Messrs. Higginson and Skelton's Contract.* "The 8 of April, 1629. Mr. Francis Higgeson and Mr. Samuell Skelton intended ministers for this plantation, and it being thought meete to consider of their entertainment, who expressing their willingness, togothor also with Mr. Francis Bright, being now present to doe their endeavour in their places of the ministerie, as well in preaching, catechisinge, as also in teaching or causing to be taught the Companys servants and their children, as also the salvages and their children, wherby to their vttermost to further the maine end of this plantation, being by the assistance of Almighty God the conversion of the salvages; the propositions and agreements concluded on with Mr. Francis Bright the second of February last, were reciprocally accepted of by Mr. Francis Higgeson and Mr. Samuell Skelton, who are in every respect to have the like conditions as Mr. Bright hath, only whereas Mr. Higgeson hath eight children, it is intended that £10 more yearly shalbe allowed him towards their charges; And is agreed that the increase to be improved of all their grounds during the first 3 years, shalbe att the Companys disposinge, who are to find their dyet during that tyme; and £10 more to Mr. Higgeson, towards his present fitting him and his for the voyage."

FRANCIS HIGGESON.  
SAMUEL SKELTON.

"Further, though it was not mentioned in the agreement, but forgotten, Mr. Higgeson was promised a man servant to take care and look to his things, and to catch him fish and fowls and provide other things needfull and also two maid servants to look to his family."

That we may have a particular knowledge of the articles for domestic use, and their prices, for a clergyman's family at Salem, in its beginning; as well as other facts; the subsequent document is presented:

*A coppie of an Accomple of Monies Mr. Skelton is Cr. viz.*  
Ano. 1629. By so much which should have bene

paid him in England towards fitting him for ye voyadge	£20	0	0
Charges at Tilbury Cowes and Plymouth being wind bound	2	10	0
Twenty per annum for 3 years	60	0	0
One bushell of wheat flower		15	
" " " out meale		10	

	1 holland & 2 ordinary cheese	10	
	XXlb. of powdered sugar	1	3 9
	One sugar loafe cont. 7lb. at 1s. 6d.		10 6
	" " " " 5lb. at 1s. 7d.		7 11
	6lb pepper		12
	Nutmegs 4oz.		1 8
	1oz. of cloves and 1 of mace		2
	3lb. of starch		1 3
	12lb. Rice		6
	6lb. of untried suet		3
	1 gall. of aquavites		3 8
	1 flitch of bacon		14
	Castile soap 9lb. at 8d.		6
	Raisins, currants and prunes		14
	2oz. saffron		5
	5 qu. of strong water.		8
	2lb. almonds at 1s. 2d.		2 4
	15lb. tried suet at 8d.		10
	1 gall. of "sallert oyle"		6
	6lb. candles		3
	5 geese & 9 ducks		8
	12lb. Butter		8
	6 pots of butter, each of 7lb.	1	8
	2 Cheeses about 10lb. apiece		11 8
	half a firkin of butter		17 6
	½ of barrel of white "biskett"		10
	7lb. honey		7 10
	1 pot of butter		3
	10lb. currants		5
	Bacon		10
	1 dozen of candles		8
	2 Cheeses of 6d. lb.		11 3
	3 " " 7 "		17 9
	1 "porkett"	1	5
	42lb. tried suet		8
	6 geese & 12 ducks		14
	6lb. powdered sugar at 20d.		10
	5 " " 18d.		7 6
	10lb. Loaf " "	1	
	Cloves & mace		1
	2oz. nutmegs 1s. & Cinnamon 16d.		2 4
	Workmens wages for cutting and bringing home wood for winter	3	
	So much paid Mr. "Pearce" for provisions of meal, peas, canvas, kersey, and "elce" with £3 5s. 9d. adventure after 25 per cent and freight	12 15 1	

3 quarts of aquavite	3	9
10lb. Rice at 5d.	4	2
10lb. Butter	6	8
4lb. Cheese	1	3 4
10 pieces of pork	11	8
28lb. Butter	10	
4 bushels of Virginia corn	2	
4 galls. Vinegar 8s. 1 gal. 2s.	17*	
2 pecks of wt. salt	3	
	<hr/>	
	£124	13 7
	<hr/>	

**"Now de Increase**

The first yeare next after the receipte of the two heifers, both the calves miscaried, one about a quarter could dyed, th' other neare vpon a yeare old lost by the wolves.

The second yeare there was a heiffer calfe and a bull calfe, wch heiffer is now in my hands and the bull calfe Mr. Skelton could att one year and three quarters could for eight pounds. The therd yeare was 2 bull calves which the begining of winter weare both eaten with the woolues.

Now since the three foresaid yeares the next year after was two bull calves and an heiffer calfe, the springe before Mr. Skelton's death. And this yeare since was three bull calves, two wherof are dead, the one when it was about twenty & two weeks old, the other since winter did begin. Now for the keeping of the cattle wch should haue been at the Companys chardges, hath wholly lyen vpon vs."

*Mr. Skelton's Account continued.* 14yds of Dutch serge £2 5 9; 17 yds Fustian £1 7; 11 yds of wt English Jeans 13 9; 12 yds of red p-petuanas £1 16; 12 yds of green, say 1 13; 12 yds of yellow, say 1 13; 12 ells of blue linen 14s.; 14 ells of course holland £1 17 4; 20 ells of course Lockerum 1 5 10; 23 yds of striped Linsey Woolsey 1 9 4; 7 yds buckorum 5 3; 1 piece of "Noridgerge" 2 5; 20 ells of Lockerum 1 5 10; 15 yds Flannel 15s.; 20 ells of course canvas 1 4; 1lb of whalebone —; 9lbs Iron at 3d. 2 3; one ayth 3s.; one fishing line 3s.; 30lbs oakum 7 6; 2000 nails 6d. 10s.; 660 nails 10d. 5 5; 1 ream of paper 10s.; — 7 yds of "bays" 2 6 yd. —; 2½ yds of yellow "carsey" 3 4 yd. —; 2 galls. of metheglin 8s.; — Articles mentioned; cambrick; 6½ yds of loom work; 2 drinking horns; thread; 2000 pins; 6 awls; one web of blue gartering; one leather Jack; 2 tubs; 1 wooden hand bowl; 3 pewter quart bottles and 1 pint do.; 1 hat; 2 knots of tape.

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\* Evidently a mistake.

P. 88. Abousett River is the same as Saugus River.

P. 91. One entry of the Court of Massachusetts Company, in London, as to oaths for officers of Government, is not so clear as to make us sure whether they refer to such authorities in New or in Old England. Hence, when stating the requisitions of these officers, which were alike in both administrations, based on the same charter, the writer remarked, that they were made of Governor Endicott and his coadjutors in authority, "for substance." The writer recollected that he had seen among the transactions of the London Court, other oaths, more distinctly applied to the Chief Magistrate and others, at Naumkeag. He looked for them, but as they were bound in a volume out of their proper place, he did not find them in season for the press. He soon discovered them, and has concluded to have them printed here.

*The Oath of the Governor in New England.* "You shall be faithfull and Lyall vnto our Soueraigne Lord the Kings maiestie and to his heires and Successors. You shall support and maintaine to your power the Government and Companie of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England in Amerien, and the priuiledges of the same, hauing noe singular regard to your selfe in derogacon or hinderance of the Commonwealth of the Company, and to every person vnder your authoritie you shall administer indifferēt and equall iustice, statutes and ordinances shall you none make, or without th' advice and consent of the Councell for the Government of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England. You shall admit none into the freedome of this Company, but such as may claime the same by vertue of priuiledges therof. You shall not hynde your selfe to enter into any business or process for or in the name of this Companie without the consent and agreement of the Councell aforesaid, but shall endeavor faithfully and carefully to carry your selfe in this place and office of Gouernor as long as you shall continue in it, and like wise you shall doe your best endeavor to draw on the natiues of this country called New England to the knowledge of the true God, and to conserve the Planters and others coming hether in the same knowledge and feare of God, and you shall endeavor by all good meanes to aduance the good of the Plantacons of this Companie, and you shall endeavor the raising of such commodities for the benefitt and encouragement of th' adventurers and Planters as through God's blessing on your endeavors may bee produced for the good and service of the kingdome of England, this Company and their Plantacons; all these promises you shall hold and keepe to the vttermost of your power and skill soe long as you shall continue in the place of Gouernor of this fellowship. Soe help you God."



This form was applied to the Deputy Governor, by prefixing the word "Deputy" to the word "Governor."

*The Oath of the Councill in New England.* You sweare to bee faithfull and loiall to our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Majestic and to his hoires and successors, you shall from tyme to tyme give your best advice and counsell for supporting and maintaininge the Commonwealth and Corporacon of the Gouernor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay, in New England, not sparing for love nor dread, for flouer nor meede, but according to the statutes and ordinances made and to bee made by vertue of the charter of the said Companie, shall effectually assist the Gouernor, or his deputie and Counsell, of the said Companie, in executing the said Statutes and Ordinances, hauing no singular regard to yourselfe in derogacion of the Commonwealth of the same. All these promises you shall hold and truly keepe, to your power, soe long as you shall continue in the place or office of one of the said Councill. Soe helpe you God."

P. 166. After the resumption of our Colonial government in 1680, the custom of making freemen by General Court, as before the usurpation in 1686, was continued into a portion of 1691.

P. 167. John Bennet came to New England 1630.

P. 168. Francis Collins, in 1687, had lived in Salem over fifty years.

P. 169. A John Hill, John Pickworth, and Daniel Ray, had left Plymouth by 1632, as a letter of Gov. Bradford stated.

P. 170. Benjamin Scarlett, who was aged 54 in 1678, came to Salem 1635, when he was bound by his mother to Governor Endicott.

There should have been suffixed to each of the three Messrs. Sprague, *c. c.* 1628, instead of *c. f.* 1629.

John Throgmorton arrived 1630.

Jacob Towne lived here, in North Fields, 1637, and so continued twelve years before he went to Topsfield.

William Vassal was brother to Samuel Vassal.

P. 171. John White, who moved to Lancaster, is the same as on p. 175.

P. 172. Ellen Felton probably came hither in 1633, when her son Nathaniel did.

P. 173. Catharine Bernardistone is supposed to have been a connection of Sir Nathaniel Bernardistone, a knight, of Parlia-

ment for Suffolk, who was a friend of Governor Winthrop, and mentioned by the latter, April 5, 1630, as desirous to be a subscriber in the joint stock of the Massachusetts Company.

P. 175. Isaac Allerton had estate in New York, as well as at New Haven, Marblehead and Plymouth.

P. 167 to 176. Among the names in Hon. James Savage's Gleanings for New England History, published in the 8 v. 3 a. of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, the following are such as are found on lists of the first settlers in Salem. The persons so denoted, were about embarking from Great Britain for New England. The wives and children and servants of some will be mentioned with them.

1635.		Sept. William Wood, husband-	
Feb.	John Best, taylor, from Canterburybury	man	27
		Elizabeth Wood	24
March.	John Reeves, aet. 19	Ralph Tomkins, husband-	
April.	Francis Bushnell, carpenter 26	man	50
	Marié Bushnell, 26	Katharina Tomkins	58
	Martha Bushnell 1	Samuel 22, Elizabeth 18,	
	John Bushnell, glazier 21	Marie Tomkins 16	
	John Beamond 23	Ralph Ellwood	23
June.	Henry Bullock, husband-	A group of names, showing that their	
	man, from St. Lawrence, in Essex 40	possessors were of New Saram, and were near sailing for New England.	
	Susan Bullock 42	1635.	
	Henry 8, Mary 6, and Thomas Bullock, 2	April.	Edmund Batter, malster,
	John Harbert, from Northampton, shoemaker, 23		John Smale, his servant
	Richard Adams, bricklayer, of the same town 29		Michael Shafflin, taylor
	Susan Adams 26		Joshua Verin, roper
	Richard Graves 23		Thomas Antram, weaver
	William Vassall 42		Thomas Browne, his servant
	Ann Vassall 42		George Smythe, taylor
	Judith 16, Francis 12, John 10, Ann 6, Margaret 2, & Mary Vassall 1		Phillip Varren, roper
	John Jackson, fisherman 40		John Green, surgeon
	Margaret Jackson 36	The last person is supposed to have been the husband of the widow Green, named among our first settlers.	
July.	Richard Hollingworth 40	1636.	Joseph Bachelor, of Canterbury,
	Susan Hollingworth 30		taylor
	Wm. 7, Richard 4, Elizabeth 3, and Susan Hulingworth 2		Elizabeth, his wife, and one child
			Marmaduke Peerce, of Sandwich, taylor, his wife, and one servant

P. 194. Blue Anchor Tavern was near the site of the English house.

P. 195. There was fear of a war with England as well as with France.

P. 196. The part of the mall disposed of in 1793, was sold to Mr. Richardson mentioned on this page.

P. 207. Rev. Dr. Bently related, that he had seen men who owned rights in the mall, cut flags and hoops there, and that it was called the Town Swamp.

In 1802, proposals were made for 60 to 100 elms, and in 1818 for 200 of them, to be planted on the mall.

P. 211. Salem and Saugus had leave, in 1635, to build four houses for provisions on the Island in Humphrey's pond.

P. 225. A township was granted to John Higginson and others, in 1718, located between Dunstable and Lancaster. The legislative discussions respecting this grant, denote that it was in or about Townsend. But the people there have no knowledge that it was so.

The grantees of Salem Narragansett, No. 3, were 29 from Salem, 27 from Lynn, 14 from Topsfield, 14 from Beverly, 9 from Andover, 7 from Marblehead, 5 from Gloucester, 4 from Wenham, 4 from Boxford, 2 from Reading, 2 from Falmouth, 1 from Bradford, 1 from York, 1 from Scarborough, and 1 from Chatham.

P. 227. In 1776, Ebenezer Porter, a native of Salem, petitioned the Council of Massachusetts that he might remove his furniture from Yarmouth, in the bay of Fundy, "inhabited chiefly by people from Salem and Beverly, and some from Ipswich and Wenham."

P. 228. The summer-house on Castle Hill was blown down in the gale of Sept. 23, 1815.

P. 231. Brown's Cove was at the bottom of Derby Square.

Stage Point was entailed to the eldest male heir of the Brown family forever. In 1781, General Court allowed it to be sold and deeded to the purchaser.

P. 234. Long pond is distinct from Spring pond. The former was anciently called Curwin's pond, from its proximity to his farm. Now it is known as Brown's pond; is in Danvers, near the Lynn and Salem boundaries.

P. 241. The price paid for Baker's Island, was £130, in bills of credit, at 18s. 6d. for 1 oz. of silver. A like sum was paid for Misery Islands.

A description of Baker's Island, in 1783, said that it was of the best soil for grass; great quantities of superior butter and cheese had been made there from the milk produced on its fodder; always had a supply of fresh water, and was "never

known to be infested with flies, musketoes, or other insects to disturb" the cattle.

P. 251. Among several credible authors who mentioned potatoes in their works, before 1600, was Holliushed. In his description of England, 1577, is the passage: "Of the potato and such venerous roots as are brought out of Spaine, Portingale, and the Indies, (America,) to furnish vp our bankets." The ill name which potatoes had in England, of being grent stimulants, may have partly rendered them so unpopular among our fathers as they were for over a century.

P. 254. We are informed that the willow tree was first raised in Great Britain, by Alexander Pope, the poet. He received a basket of figs, as a present, from Turkey, which had a twig ready to bud. He placed this in the ground, and it became the parent of such trees in England and America. This species of the willow was called by Linnaeus, *Babylonica*, in reference to the 137th Psalm. The buttonwood tree, which has for over a century been placed before some of our houses, began to fail here and throughout New England about four years ago. A disease is upon them, which gradually diminishes their vitality.

P. 266. A wildcat was killed, Jan. 1821, in Front street, of this city, having come from Orne's Point.

P. 270. An act was published in the News Letter of March 4, 1756, having been passed by the Legislature then in session. It related to dogs, cats, and other creatures. It ordered, that, as such animals had died of a distemper, in great numbers, throughout the province, and lying unburied, were likely to create a dangerous contagion, they should be put two feet under ground on penalty of 40s. for every neglect. It required all selectmen to appoint buriers, who should have their fees from owners of the animals so buried.

P. 296. The turnpike to Chelsea bridge cost \$182,063, and this bridge cost \$55,469. The par value of a share in the road part was \$178. The directors ordered, May 4, 1802, that Lombardy poplars be planted each side of the road.

P. 303. For *Willard* read *Hilliard*.

As some intimation of the carriages which may have been used here, and in the vicinity, we give the following. Moses Prince, brother of the New England annalist, wrote in his diary, 1717, that he visited Gloucester, saw a carriage there of two wheels, for two horses, which Capt. Robinson, who first gave the name of schooner to a vessel, had built for his wife. Mr.

Prince gave a handsome drawing of it, which looked much like one of our modern cabs.

Though President Dwight remarked, in his *Travels*, that in 1796 no four-wheel carriage for private use was owned by any family here, yet such carriages had been thus owned in Salem, long before. The heavy taxes laid on them and other property, to meet the revolutionary debt, had kept these vehicles from making their reappearance among some of our wealthy families.

P. 327. As stated in the first edition of this work, Mrs. Lydia Hill preceded Mr. Norris, many years, as a keeper of the post office.

P. 328. For *Muscoll* read *Mascoll*.

P. 331. An independent letter office was set up in Salem about the first of July, 1844.

P. 339. The watch-house stood in the middle of School street, about as far north as the north end of Stearns's building. It had a soldier, in full uniform and armed, on the top of it, which was carved by Leeman Beadle.

P. 367. As Clark Gayton Pickman refers to one person, there is no need of commas between the names.

P. 407. For *Burr* read *Barr*.

P. 423. The first William Brown, here mentioned, appears to have been the person who died 1763. The second William, who follows him, was his son.

P. 429. *Compensation* should have had the sign of the possessive case.

P. 430. For the heading, "*Schools by contribution*," read "*Contributions for poor scholars*."

P. 438. A Brinsley's *Accidence*, with the name of John Swinnerton, supposed to be the physician, of Salem, written in it 1652, came into the possession of Rev. Dr. Bentley, who left it to William B. Fowle, Esq. of Boston.





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